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[Information regarding the Paramount chief is filed under 643, that on territorial chiefs under 622, and that on village headmen under 624.]

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105 643 On a man's relationship to his chief depends his residence, his use of land, the economic group he works with, the way in which his food is distributed, the religious and magic beliefs that sustain him in his work, and his social ambitions. Thus without understanding the political organization of the Bemba it is impossible to describe their system of food production.

105 622 643 Briefly, then, this political system consists of a Paramount chief, the Citimukulu, a hereditary ruler with a fixed title, drawn from the royal clan—the *Benaŋandu* or 'Crocodile' people—who traces his descent in the matrilineal line for more than twenty-five holders of the office. The Citimukulu rules over his own district, the centre of the Bemba country—Lubemba—but also acts as overlord to a number of territorial chiefs, who govern districts similar in size, succeed to fixed titles, and are drawn from the same clan, and in fact the same lineage group, as the Paramount himself.[1] Each of these territorial chiefs has one or two sub-chiefs under him, these again being drawn from the royal clan, but in some cases from more distant branches of the family which have become localized in one particular area.[2] Sisters and maternal nieces of the chiefs are reckoned as chieftainesses, *Banamfumu*. They succeed to titles, and rule over villages, while the chief's mother, the Candamukulu, has a small territory of her own, and plays an important part in tribal councils. Beneath the chiefs [627] come the heads of villages (*mwine mushi*, plur. *bene mushi*) appointed by them. A particular feature of this political system is [644] the hierarchy of the 40–50 officials, *Bakabilo*, many of them also of royal descent, who succeed to fixed titles, and perform ritual duties at the court, take charge of the chief's complex mortuary and accession ceremonies, and act as a council for the whole tribe.[3] Besides these hereditary priests and councillors attached to the Paramount's court, though not resident at it, each chief and sub-chief has his own councillors (*bafilolo*), with legal and executive functions, living at his court and appointed by him, and in the

[1] The most important of such territorial chiefs are the Mwamba, Nkolemfumu, and Nkula, and at the moment the first two are own brothers to the Citimukulu, and the last a first cousin.

[2] e.g. Mwaba is a sub-chief of Nkula, but this title has become associated with another branch of the Crocodile clan.

[3] Autocratic chieftainships, associated with hierarchies of hereditary court officials, are found among the contiguous tribes in the Congo, e.g. Luba (Verhulpen, op. cit., pp. 55, 186), Shongo (Torday, *Causeries congolaises*, 1925, p. 55), Kongo (J. H. Weeks, op. cit., p. 37).

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old days had captains of his army, executioners, and other court dignitaries as well. The complexity of this political organization form an interesting contrast to the simplicity of the people's economic system. Such a centralized form of government is not found among the surrounding tribes.

The power of the chief rests ultimately on his people's belief in his supernatural powers over the prosperity of the land and the welfare of his individual subjects. By his inheritance of the guardian spirits (*umupashi*, plur. *imipashi*) of the line of dead chiefs, and his possession of the sacred relics (*babenye*) of the tribe, he has power of approach to the tribal deities and he is responsible for the economic rites on which the food-production of these people is thought to depend.

Besides their supernatural powers the chiefs formerly based their apparently unchallenged authority on the physical force they could exert. They controlled and armed their warriors, and had power of life or death over their subjects, whom they could kill, enslave, or sell, and in the case of women, bestow in marriage. Their legal system gave them the right to mutilate those who offended them, and it put them in supreme charge of the poison (*mwafi*) ordeal. The land theoretically belonged to them, and they exacted tribute in labour and kind from those who cultivated it, and maintained monopolies over ivory and salt. No Bemba could reach a high social status or obtain economic privileges unless related to the royal family or a personal favourite with them. Thus it is impossible to study land tenure, leadership in economic enterprises, incentives to agricultural labour, the distribution of land and goods, or exchange, without bearing the political system of this tribe in mind. Linton has recently used the word 'Orientation' to describe for comparative purposes the chief focus of the interests and social institutions of any particular people under review. In this sense military ambition under an autocratic chieftainship is the orientation of the Bemba tribe.[1]

It is obvious that chiefs of this type who relied on the use of military force, tribute labour, and slavery for their supremacy, but did not accumulate material possessions or possess any valuable economic resources in their territory, are in a particularly poor position at the present day. The Bemba chief receives a small subsidy from the Government—£60 a year in the case of the

[1] Cf. R. Linton, *The Study of Man*, 1936.

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105 643 ●622 Paramount chief and less for the territorial chiefs—and therefore earns annually about the same amount as a clerk. Rich African rulers such as the Nigerian emirs, the Barotse king, or some of the South-African potentates, do not exist in this area, and hence one of the important practical problems to discuss is the effect of this poverty of the Bemba chiefs on an economic system which is as closely linked with the political organization as is theirs.

White Contact.

177 Permanent contact between Bemba and Europeans dates from 1890, when the White Fathers built a station at Kayambi on their north-eastern border and entered the country two years later. The British South Africa Co. established a post at Abercorn in 1893 and at Mirongo, near the present Government station at Chinsali, in 1896. These stations were built to put an end to slave raids in this area, but two years later (1898) the Administration intervened in a disputed succession to an important chieftainship and established themselves at Kasama, now the Provincial head-quarters, in the centre of the Bemba country, while the White Fathers, who entered the district more or less simultaneously, built their big station at Chilubula, twelve miles off, now the chief centre of the Diocese. There are at present Government stations at Kasama, Chinsali, Mpika (the site of a large aerodrome), Mporokoso, and Luwingu—to mention only those in the Bemba country proper. Most of these stations consist of a couple of houses built for the Government officials, an office, and a store, but Kasama is a bigger centre and has a white population of 54. Catholic influence is predominant in the heart of the Bemba country and the White Fathers have now built over ten stations in the tribal territory, mostly distributed in key situations near the villages of big chiefs. They also have a teachers' training school at Rosa to the north-east of Kasama. The Church of Scotland Mission has a big teachers' training-school at Lubwa to the south-east of the district, and stations near the borders of the Bemba country at Mwenzo and Chitambo. The London Missionary Society also has seven mission centres in or near Bemba territory including Senga, Mporokoso and Mbereshi. There is one Government School at Kasama. There is only one big European plantation, Shiwa Dandu, to the south-west of

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574 lady of rank, whom I knew to have eaten little that day, refused an invitation to a meal. She asked me, with a sniff, who they took her for? Was she to cross the village 'just to sit down to a few mushrooms'?

574 622 The hospitality given to travelling chiefs must be reckoned in a different category. At the visit of the *mfumu*, each woman must contribute a little flour, and the headman produce chickens, the gift of honour, and, if possible, beer. But the presentation of the basket of flour and the live fowls is an act of homage, rather than mere provision for the traveller. It is brought by the headman and his elders and offered with the formal salutation of respect (*ukutota panshi*)—clapping and rolling on the back on the ground—and is reckoned as part of the chief's dues as the owner of the land (cf. Chap. XIII). But in any case it would be thought impossible to give a chief cooked food. He could not eat it because porridge cooked on 'impure' fire would endanger his life,[1] and it would be considered, I think, in the nature of an insult. Chiefs visiting each other will exchange uncooked food to be prepared by their respective staffs, but only a chief's head wife could send a royal visitor dishes of porridge and relish. All these distinctions show clearly the extent to which prestige is associated with the right to distribute food rather than its mere possession or consumption, and it is not surprising that the whole etiquette of feeding travellers is considered so important by a people constantly preoccupied with problems of status. Every traveller's departure is followed by lengthy discussions among the women as to what he received and what he ought to have received, and the Bemba proverb, 'Flour which is not yours is ash' (*Bunga ubushili bwenu, mito*), can be well understood.

574 602 609 Finally, there are strangers to be fed. This is an important matter at the present time since many natives, travelling four or five hundred miles up the motor road, are forced to stay *en route* at villages in which they have no close relatives. Hence it is important to discover what the old tradition of hospitality was and whether it is still observed. The correct procedure for a man entering a village is to ground his spear and sit down in silence in the veranda of the nearest hut. He should not speak until one

[1] The chief's wife has to make new fire either by friction or with matches and sometimes to mud the floor freshly before she can prepare his food when in a strange village.

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times testing his power by settling in temporary grass huts (*insitanda*) with his closest relatives to see whether more distant kinsmen will be attracted to live with him, or going about the country assiduously visiting kinsmen. I met an old native of high family on the copper belt who had lived in the urban area ten years saving up money to buy muzzle-loading guns and attracting the nucleus of a small village group by dispensing hospitality at the mines. 'They will go back with me,' he said, 'when they see I am a great man, and that they will have meat at my village.' Once a village has been founded, the headman's efforts cannot be relaxed, for with the Bemba practice of shifting villages, a kinship system which allows of many types of local grouping, and the Government regulations that any man with a following of nine other taxpayers can split off to form a new community, it is naturally difficult for a man to keep together a large enough following. He must still dispense food, avoid dissensions, and use magic. Otherwise at each shifting of the village people may leave him.

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The aim of chiefs, or indeed of any member of the Royal clan, is very similar although their objectives are on a larger scale. The possible heirs of a chief, his brothers, maternal nephews or grandsons, try to win favour with the ruling chief and to prove that they know how to exert authority and govern a village (*ukuteko mushi*), and hence they tend to congregate at the Chief's Court to carry out responsible tasks for him, and in some cases are given headmanships on trial.[1] Once a young *mwina-panda* has attained to a sub-chieftainship he hopes to rise to superior positions. These are chiefly given according to seniority, but, where a man has proved himself unworthy, a different choice would be made. Any holder of the title of chief has, further, to keep men living in his village, and to attract visitors to it. The greatness of the dead Citimukulus is always described by accounts of the immense size of their villages, the number of their courtiers, and the great crowd of visitors and eminent people who sat at their feet all day long. Even to-day capitals are much larger than commoners' villages, and the status of chiefs is still reckoned very largely by the number of huts built round them. A man whose subjects tend to leave his

[1] The present Mukukile was given a headmanship to one of the Chambesi villages as a young man, but was proved irresponsible and only attained his present position as chief on his return from long years spent as a cook at Livingstone.

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territory, as well as his village, has a bad reputation, and this often happens at the present day, although formerly a commoner had little power to leave his chief's country.

This desire to attain authority, whether over slaves, kinsmen, villagers, courtiers, or the inhabitants of a district is, therefore, the dominant factor we have to consider. The accumulation of food is entirely secondary to it, and only exists in so far as it permits the necessary concentration of service, as for instance, in the chief's capital. Meat and beer are needed, as we saw, to feed labourers, relatives, and courtiers, and are essential to the working of the tribal machine. To give with a flourish was the glory of chieftainship, as Livingstone found when the Citimukulu of his day (Citapankwa) sent after him the ivory tusk he had sat on because he had touched it.[1] Actual possession of great quantities of foodstuffs does not seem to have been a particularly cherished ambition of the Bemba. They valued a reputation for giving, not for having, and the distribution of food brought by villagers as tribute or levied as toll on the conquered peoples was a measure of wealth. Old men boast to-day about the amount the former chiefs used to take from the Bisa or surrounding peoples, and they respected a man who was able to exact the biggest levy of such tribute. I never heard a chief boast to another about the size of his granaries, but often about the amount of food brought to him and distributed by him.

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In fact chiefs particularly valued the fact that some of their food was brought to them and not grown in their gardens, for it gave them some kind of resource to fall back upon. The Bemba say: 'We will shake the tree until it gives up its fruit', that is to say we will nag the big man until he divides his supplies. If a chief attempted to dry meat and keep it for subsequent division his followers would sit and stare at it and talk about it until he was forced to give them some, but supplies brought irregularly from other villages provided constant fresh resources.[2]

Therefore the chief seems to have aimed at having just sufficient crops to put him in a position of security, but not at increasing

[1] Gouldsbury and Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, 1911, p. 17.

[2] An interesting illustration of this fact is that the paramount chief often asked me to keep his quarterly salary from the Government because 'Otherwise my children and grandchildren will keep on coming and will do obeisance and ask for cloths'.

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his supplies indefinitely. To-day the big chiefs make proper gardens every two years (*ukutema pakalamba*), and fill enormous granaries which they reckon to last for two seasons or more. They definitely do not try to produce the maximum amount of food possible each year as the following table shows. It appears that

Annual Cultivation by Four Chiefs

1 = Full cultivation. ½ = Small gardens.
0 = No cultivation. .. = No records obtained.

	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Citimukulu	..	..	..	..	..	1	½	1
Nkula	1	0	1	½	½	1	0	½
Mwamba	..	1	0	Village moved	0	1	½	½
Nkolemfumu	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	0

this was always the custom even when labour was easier to get. Thus the *mfumu* had about four times as much food accumulated as a commoner, but there was not a much greater difference than this between them. In any case the difference in wealth was a difference in power to distribute, not in the amount possessed.

The position of the commoner is different. Not only has he no reason to accumulate beyond a certain point, sufficient to give him enough to eat and to distribute in a small way, but he is also afraid to do so. To be much better off than his fellows would be dangerous. A man who is full when others are hungry is hardly considered to have achieved the good fortune by natural means. An occasional stroke of good luck is not resented, but to be permanently much more prosperous than the rest of the village would almost certainly lead to accusations of sorcery.[1] It might also be thought presumptuous (*icilumba*), an aping of the chief, and it would certainly cause a number of elderly female relatives to come and claim support from the lucky man. For these reasons the Bemba not only aims at a very modest competence, but he usually denies that he is as well off as he is. Unlike the Trobriand Islanders who boast about the fullness of their yam stores, the Bemba invariably denies that he has any food at all: 'We've simply swept the granary clean' (*twapyangafye*!) is his usual comment.[2]

[1] One of the reasons witchcraft is so much more common in urban areas where inequality in wealth is so much more striking.

[2] Compare the structure of the Trobriand granary designed to reveal th-

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offering to the ancestral spirits known as *ukupepa* until they have established their rule for a number of years.[1] The term 'shifting cultivator' carries some suggestion of feckless, impulsive conduct. It ill describes the Bemba's anxious consideration of new sites, the ritual precautions they observe for so long when moving their settlements, their efforts to keep perpetual continuity between successive villages, the long probationary period before they are ready to consider themselves established, and their affection for the *icibolya* left behind.

Village Sites of Chiefs.

The *icibolya* of a chief is a place of particular interest. I have been led miles out of my route to look at what was said to be an old village site of one of the Citimukulus, but was now quite indistinguishable from the rest of the bush. Such spots would be shown me with the same kind of reverence and possessive pride with which we might display a ruined castle to a foreign sightseer! Even when the exact geographical position of such sites has been forgotten, their names are often remembered to the present day. Chiefs, as distinct from commoners, give new names to each fresh village they build, and the life of a capital lasts longer than that of the ordinary *umushi*. This name, which is always bestowed by the ruler himself, is supposed to make allusive reference to some decision he has recently taken, or to a topical event. For instance, the late Nkula called the new village he founded in 1934 *Mano yacepa*, 'Common sense is short', because his people refused at first to follow him to a new village site and then hurried after him when they found what good land he had chosen. Even some temporary grass huts the Citimukulu had been living in for the previous two years had a name alluding to the fact that the people had refused to co-operate in building the new *umusumba*. Many such village names survive from the past. Any old man who tells the well-known tale of the migration of the Bemba from Lubaland to their present territory, gives a list of the names of successive villages built by the immigrant chiefs *en route*, while in narratives of more recent years dates are placed with a reasonable degree of accuracy by describing events as having occurred when a particular Citimukulu was still living on such-and-such a site. Some chiefs are nicknamed by the title of a village or its neighbouring river,

[1] Cf. Chap. XVII.

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622 643 e.g. *Mwamba wa pa Milenge*, 'The Mwamba who built on the Milenge River'.

This strong feeling for the preservation of the sites of old capitals is expressed ritually in a number of ways. After the burial of a chief the dead man's hut must be ceremonially destroyed, *ukutoba itembwe*, and a sacrifice of an ox offered. After the rubble on the house site has rotted away, a spirit shrine (*ulufuba*) is built on the spot, and prayers offered there subsequently. Many such shrines are still honoured. The ritual performed there ultimately depends on the Bemba belief, which natives readily express, that the *imipashi*, besides going up and down the land, being present in the huts of their descendants at dusk or dawn, or lingering on burial groves, may be expected to frequent the village site which they inhabited in life, and on which they died, and that they may readily be invoked there.[1]

The intense interest of the Bemba in these historical sites in their neighbourhood has a considerable sociological importance. Malinowski has given us information from a Melanesian Island to show how clan myths associated with certain geographical spots in the territory, constantly repeated by its members, and said to be owned by them, form what he calls a 'mythical charter' for the right to use the land.[2] Among the Bemba there is no developed mythology of the doings of miraculous beings associated with different localities, but many historical traditions of the actions of former chiefs, and of the whereabouts of their villages. One can only imagine that the performance of rites at these deserted sites, or even the constant narration of different happenings associated with these ancient *ifibolya*, gives the natives a valuable assurance that such powerful chiefs actually did live in the particular area and may be called upon to protect it, and that the present holder of the title, as the direct descendant of men who built capitals all over the district, has the requisite power to approach them.

764 778 Burial-places, as distinct from deserted village sites, are forgotten quickly. The mortuary ritual of a commoner is hurried and unimpressive, and the burial-ground of a village is a place avoided by natives, and on which no rites are carried out. Chiefs are buried in clumps of evergreen swamp forests. The Citimukulu, Mwamba, Nkula, Cewe, and Nkweto at the big thicket known

[1] Chap. XVII.
[2] Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and their Magic*, 1934, vol. i, pp. 341–58.

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241 823 they lie sometimes eight or ten miles away. The word *icitemene* is derived from *kutema* (to cut down trees) and it is applied to a new millet garden in the course of being cleared and prepared for sowing. Hence Government reports now refer to the '*citemene* system' to describe the characteristic Bemba method of clearing the bush. However the garden, after it has been sown, is known as an *ubukula* (plur. *amakula*), and in its second and subsequent years of life, when it is planted with other crops, it is called an *icifwani* (plur. *ifyifwani*) and continues under this name until the cultivated land reverts to bush. The average size of an *ubukula* has been calculated to be about one acre, for which a strip of bush about eight acres is usually cleared of trees, but the gardens, though roughly circular, have no fixed size or shape. A smaller *ubukula* usually less than a quarter of an acre in size, such as those planted with fast-growing millet (*mwangwe*), is known as an *akakamba* (*plur. ukukamba*).

823 It will be seen, therefore, that the descriptive terms applied to land never refer to fixed units of measurement, but either to the political district in which a man lives, to a natural vegetation division in which his successive villages are usually built (*mpanga*), or to the temporary use to which the land is being put (*mpata*, *icitemene*, *icifwani*, &c.).

The Chief as Land-owner.

423 •622 643 A Bemba's right to the use of any part of the bush depends upon his political allegiances, first to a headman and then to a chief. He cannot cultivate as an isolated individual, even though he has uncontested rights of ownership of any land he may have cleared. Every Bemba reckons himself the subject of a territorial chief. He calls himself the '*umuina*' (subject, connexion of, member of) such-and-such a ruler, e.g. *umuina* Citimukulu, the subject of Citimukulu or by the historic name of the *icalo* itself, *umuina* Lubemba, an inhabitant of Lubemba.[1] In the first place, then, how does his status as a subject actually determine his use of land? What right has he to select in the *icalo* of his chief a strip of bush for a village site, or for agricultural purposes?

[1] The word '*umuina*' is difficult to translate. Besides the meanings given above, husband and wife refer to each other as *umuina wandi*, 'the person connected with me, or with whom I am tied', and a football team on the copper-belt uses the word for a member of the team. It must be distinguished from *umwine*, the owner of a thing or leader of an affair.

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In answer to a direct question as to the ownership of his *icalo* any chief will reply quite simply that the whole territory belongs to him, together with the food that is produced in it, its game and fish, and the labour of its people. 'It is my land, all of it! Every bit of the bush (*Calo candi conse! Mpangafye yonse!*)', said Citimukulu to me when describing his territorial rights. But it is important to know what such a grandiose statement actually means in terms of concrete fact. How and when does the Bemba chief exert his triple claim to own the land, the food, and the labour of his *icalo*?

Most Bantu chiefs claim to be regarded as the supreme landlord of their territories, and, in many cases, particularly in South Africa, they do actually determine the use to which it is put. Among the Southern Bantu, for instance, it is usual for the chief to allot land for cultivation to his *nduna* or headmen, who in turn distribute it to the people. He also reserves prior rights to particular grazing grounds or other soil of value. The land shortage resulting from European settlement all over Africa has given great importance to this prerogative. In East Africa the Ganda king appoints his nominees to rule over different districts as chiefs, moving them at will from place to place. To these territorial heads the peasant must apply for a strip of land to cultivate. He may be given a plot anywhere in the district, whether near his own kinsmen's village or not, and he pays dues to the chiefs at whose pleasure he holds the ground. This right of allotting land has had important practical consequences, since it formed the basis of the system of rent payments to landlords instituted by the Uganda Agreement of 1900.[1]

Bemba chiefs, though they claim just as complete an overlordship over their land, do not actually allot ground for cultivation. Their own wealth they reckon in terms of the numbers of their subjects, not by the amount of land in their possession. The only district map that would be of use to them would be one showing the density distribution of the population. The Paramount Chief had the right to 'give' a district to one of his relatives in the old days, and he still appoints the successors to the territorial chieftainships. He may also give a village to one of his near relatives—usually a son, a daughter, or a maternal nephew—and he does so frequently even at the present day, placing his own

[1] L. P. Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, 1934, Chap. VI.

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nominee in a position of authority over the local group. By so doing he gives his relatives the right to command the service of their villagers however difficult it may be to exact such labour nowadays. But these royal headmen have no more power to determine the use of land than has a commoner, and probably they do not cultivate much more. To a commoner the chief merely grants permission to settle in his *icalo* as a member of a village community under the rule of a particular headman, and here he may choose what land he pleases.[1] The supply is so plentiful that the question of exact distribution is not a matter of great importance. It is the political affiliation that counts. The chief looks upon a man as a subject and not as a tenant, although the status of subject does actually confer the right to use land.[1]

The statement that 'all the land is mine' does not then mean that the ruler has the right to take any piece of ground he chooses for his own use. His own gardens are made in the neighbourhood of the capital, and in any one year it is expected that commoners will wait to cut trees for their *ifitemene* until the chief has chosen the site he wants. But after that the people are free to clear the bush where they please. The same is true of the choice of land to be used for the village beds. At the founding of Citimukulu's new village in 1934 I found that the chief had already marked out his *mputa* and had sown them with Kaffir corn before any commoners had started to dig their beds, or to build their houses. In the succeeding April the chief went out to choose a site for his big millet gardens, and after this the villagers began to select their own sites.

I never heard of a case where a chief took land that had already been occupied by a commoner. It would not have paid him to do so. In the old days he would have been expected to feed any inhabitant of the capital who was hungry, and nowadays, when

[1] Very little has so far been published as to the position of the chief among other N. Rhodesian tribes. Among the Bisa of the Bangweulu swamps and the contiguous Baushi and Baunga, the chief seems to have no rights of allocating land, confirmed J. Coxhead: 'The Native Tribes of N.E. Rhodesia', *J.R.A.I.*, Occasional papers No. 5; but among the cattle-owning tribes of the Nyasaland border (Ngoni and Cewa) and along the Kafue river (Ila)—both areas where southern influence is prominent—the chiefs claim the right to allot land for cultivation or for grazing, either directly or through the local headmen. Cf. J. Coxhead, op. cit., p. 24. Smith and Dale, 1920, op. cit., vol. i, p. 307. The same is also true of the Lamba. C. Doke, op. cit., p. 89.

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natives are much more free to move about the country than formerly, he would be afraid his subjects would leave him. I have, however, seen a case of a chief borrowing land temporarily. In November 1931 Nkula asked one of the villagers for the use of his garden mounds so that he might sow them with ground-nuts for one season. The word used was *ukuashima*, or 'to borrow', and in this case the original owner of the beds had apparently the right to ask the chief for ground-nuts for the use of his family at any time he pleased. I saw the chief hand him over a large sack on his request. Otherwise the commoner's rights to land he has occupied seem to be respected, and according to native informants the same held good even of the autocratic rulers of pre-European days.

On the other hand it is impossible for a Bemba to cultivate in a chief's territory without the latter's permission. In the old days if one chief trespassed, even unwittingly, on the ground of another, the former had to give a substantial present such as an elephant tusk or a cow to the latter. Nowadays Citimukulu told me he would expect a gift of beer, even if it were a close relative who had made a garden within the boundary of his *icalo*. It is apparently a usual way of picking a quarrel to start cutting trees over another chief's borders, ill-defined though the latter often are. The late Nkula, giving evidence before a white magistrate during a case of disputed succession, said, 'I knew he wanted to claim the stool (i.e. office of chieftainship) because he sent men to cut trees on my land.'

A commoner, as distinct from a fellow chief, has to come and make obeisance to the *mfumu* and ask permission to settle. He usually brings a present to court, and is welcomed as adding to the economic assets of the district. Near Kasama in 1934 I once met Citimukulu touring his villages. Two elderly men from the territory of Makassa, near Abercorn, about 100 miles away, arrived with their younger relatives carrying a gourd of beer. They rolled on the ground and clapped (the usual formal salute) and said they wanted to settle at a certain village, but that the inhabitants were hostile to the suggestion. The Paramount received them with enthusiasm, always keen to add to the number of his subjects. He told them to settle where they wanted to cultivate, and to bring him tribute of what they grew. In the old days failure to get formal permission to cut trees in any *icalo* would have been punished by seizure of half the crop, or the burning of the cut branches

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before they had been properly piled.[1] I was told that nowadays a chief would not take such a drastic step, but that he would certainly send for the intruder and demand tribute. The shifting cultivator is not free to build a hut where he pleases, although in this empty country he is not limited as to the amount of bush he clears.

The Chief's Supernatural Powers.

It must be remembered too that a Bemba wants not only the right to make a garden, but also an assurance that the bush he cultivates will give him food. Now the productive capacity of the *mpanga* depends, he believes, entirely on the beneficence of the tutelary deities associated with it, and the goodwill of these supernatural beings can only be secured by the prayers of the chief and his observance of a particular way of life. When the Bemba chief is installed (*ukupyanika*) he acquires, as guardian spirits, the *imipashi* of the dead rulers of the land, of whom he is of course the lineal descendant in the matrilineal line. Thereafter he is believed in his own person to affect the fortunes of his land. He is 'to spread his spittle in blessing on the land' (*ukufunga mate mu calo*); he is to rectify it (*ukulungame calo*); he is to work it (*ukubombele calo*). In fact the Paramount should not leave his territory for fear that its fertility should suffer, and in March 1934, when the Citimukulu was summoned to Lusaka to meet Prince George, he was obliged to offer special prayers and cloth to his *imipashi*, explaining the compulsion put upon him. He told the spirits that the Europeans to whom they had given the land must be obeyed. 'We have got to go on a journey. Those who installed us in this land, your people, have called us to see the son of the King. Now we cannot refuse. No, not to those who gave us many possessions and money and many cloths. You Kampampa Mutanshi (the first ancestor) here is your cloth! You the Great one, who gave the land to Pokili (the next ancestor) so that he might stay in the capital. Let Lubemba prosper. For we are going to strange lands. Farewell.'[2]

[1] Cullen Gouldsbury denies this and says that a pot of beer only need be given to the chief by a tribesman while a member of another tribe would have to accept the rule of the chief and then give half the product of his gardens as tribute. Cullen Gouldsbury, 'Notes on the Customary Law of the Awemba', *Journ. of the African Society*, vol. xiv, no. lvi, 1915, p. 375.

[2] *Tuli no bulendo. Abatuteka mu calo, bantu benu, no batuita kukuya mono*

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The illness of the chief is liable to bring misfortune, or rather to be associated with a general condition of ill luck, and is even now a source of fear, as I observed myself on several occasions. At his death the prosperity of the land is brought to an end just as the political organization is temporarily at a standstill. No crops are planted by the chief's family and no first-fruit rites are done. *Icalo cawa.* (The land has fallen down, i.e. the state has collapsed.) The sex life of the chief has also a mysterious effect on the welfare of all his people. His sexual power gives vigour and 'warmth' to the land. Hence the phrase *ukukafye calo* (to warm the land), and the rule that a territorial chief should never sleep with a woman when travelling outside his territory.[1] By a sexual act the *mfumu* can bless seeds or other objects required for the use of the tribe. But this power is alike the cause of danger. By breaking a sex taboo—such as approaching the spirits without the right ceremony of purification, the ruler can bring incalculable harm on the community. Of such a man I heard the comment, 'Why does he like women? Does not that imperil the land? That is not a chief. No!'[2]

Besides this powerful and mysterious influence over the land and its people, the chief is also able to influence their destinies by his power of access to the tribal spirits. This right is based on his possession of the *benye* or sacred relics by which the most powerful ancestral spirits of the Bemba can be invoked, and also by his supreme control over the spirit-centres of his whole *icalo.* The economic rites he performs at these different shrines will be described in detail later. Suffice it now to say that this supreme control over the supernatural resources of the *icalo* gives the territorial chief what Edwin Smith has called the 'spiritual ownership'[3]

mwana Cingi. Nomba teti tukome yo. E batupela fyuma fingi, ne ndalama, ne nsalu shingi. Mwe Kampampa Mutanshi imyala yobe! Ni mwe mukalamba, mwapela Pokili ukuti ekale pa musumba. Nomba lubuke lubemba. Ifwe twalaya mu fyalo. Sikyalempo!

[1] The Paramount in any case should not leave his district.

[2] *Cinshi baletemwa ku bonakashi. Te kucile calo? Te mfumu iyi! Ye!*

[3] Cf. E. W. Smith and A. Dale, op. cit., vol. i, p. 388. It is important to realise that in many parts of Africa the spiritual owner of the land is not identical with the political owner. A warrior people extends its boundaries and occupies land under the guardianship of the tutelary spirits of other tribes. In this area it is common to find that in territory seized by the Bemba from the neighbouring Bisa or Lala during the last century, the conquering people are offering prayers to the dead chiefs of the conquered, and are dependent for this purpose on the services of a Bisa or Lala priest. The chief Nkula sends cloth to Mungulube, the

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of the land, and the Paramount chief who has to initiate all the economic rites of the *icalo*, has thus the supernatural overlordship of the whole Bemba territory.

But the question that concerns us immediately here, is whether this spiritual ownership of the *icalo* by the territorial chief actually affects its productive use, in other words, the rights of each individual to cultivate the land. If we are to consider as the study of land tenure 'the relationship of man to soil in its widest sense', as Malinowski suggests, then the position of the chief as a combined ruler, landlord, and priest is obviously a relevant factor.[1] The people's belief that the productive capacity of the land depends ultimately on the prayers of a ruler descended from the original occupants of the land, is the basis of their system of local grouping into villages under a headman who performs subsidiary rites to local deities, and a chief who is responsible for the communal rites and for the welfare of each *icalo*. It is also the sanction for the chief's political authority and economic prerogatives, and however much these religious beliefs have weakened at the present day, they are still the dominant force behind the politico-economic machine.

Thus for the chief's claim that 'all the land is mine', we might substitute the explanation that the chief is the spiritual overlord of his *icalo*, and that on this fact depends his power to organize economic units for its exploitation and to receive dues: that he reserves the privilege to select garden sites for himself near his own village, but that he never claims the right to seize land occupied by others, or to allocate ground for cultivation to his subjects as is the custom in many other Bantu tribes. Any individual Bemba can cultivate as much ground as he pleases in the *icalo*, if he is a member of a village community, accepts the status of a subject and fulfils the resultant obligations to his chief. Otherwise he cannot settle in the district at all. This discussion of the

descendant of one of the dispossessed Bisa chiefs near his capital and asks him to pray to the 'owners of the land' (*bene*). At Kasaka, near Shiwa Ndandu, the Bemba headman descendant of a family sent from Lubemba to occupy Bisa country, has put up seven shrines to Bisa spirits, known or unknown, whom he believes to be associated with his village site. He is still anxious lest he should have forgotten some. In other cases one branch of a clan has become localized in an outlying district of Bemba country and claims control of the local shrines, and the head of the family demands dues of fish or game in consequence.

[1] Cf. Malinowski's definition of land tenure, *Coral Gardens and their Magic*, vol. i, p. 319.

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relation between the political and religious functions of the chief and his rights as a landlord has certain practical implications. At a time when money payments are being substituted for old tribal dues in many parts of Africa, it is important to be clear what the Bemba chief originally claimed, and still claims, and it can be stated definitely that however peremptory his demands on his people's labour and garden produce, he seems to have left them complete security as to their use of land and to have allowed them the right to select particular plots—a freedom probably associated with the ample supply of land in this area.

Tribute on Land.

We must now turn to the second claim of the Bemba chief, viz. that he owns not only his land, but also the food that is produced in it. 'Everything is theirs!' (i.e. the chiefs') as Candamale, formerly the hereditary burier of the royal family, expressed it, 'The meat, the fish, all the trees, all the land, and the honey'[1]—which is equivalent to saying that the Bemba chief gives his subjects permission to settle in his territory, but that all the crops they grow belong by right to him. Our problem is to discover the forms in which these dues are exacted.

This is a difficult aspect of land tenure to analyse. The economic privileges and duties of African kings have suffered inevitable changes with the institution of European government and the introduction of a money currency. Bemba chiefs and elders speak with enthusiasm of the 'good old days' when subjects brought constant gifts of food to the capital. 'All day long they carried tribute (*batula*). They brought millet and beer and meat. They were always bringing tribute. There was always food at the *umusumba*!' is a typical account of the state of affairs as they delight to describe it.

From these day-dreams of a glorious past it is difficult to extract a case of concrete fact. The most extreme instance of the exercise of the chief's rights of ownership over food seemed to me to be contained in an old councillor's memory of an actual incident which took place before the coming of the white man. He told me that in the reign of Cikwanda, a former Paramount, a rich commoner had fled the territory of his chief to take refuge elsewhere. The Paramount immediately sent a messenger to the headman of the fugitive's village saying to him, 'Take possession of X's food,

[1] *Shyonse shyabo! Inama, lisabi, imiti yonse, ne calo conse, no buci!*

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643 and look after it for the chief'.[1] The relatives of the exile had
651 apparently no rights at all to his property. When I commented to the present Citimukulu on the apparent injustice of this action he said, in defence of his ancestors, 'Well, but all the food and all the gardens belonged to the *mfumu* in any case', thus expressing the rights of ownership in the most absolute form. But it is clear that in the ordinary course of events the chief limited himself to certain dues, such as demands for food for himself and for his followers in any emergency, hospitality when travelling through his domains, and a regular tribute of certain crops, game, and fish. All these claims are exercised at the present day, to however limited an extent.

622 All Bemba chiefs get food brought them whenever they travel,
651 as do also royal princesses holding titles, and sometimes the sons,
484 nephews, and grandsons of the royal family. Two headmen of
643 villages on the roadside told me they were excused paying annual tribute because they had regularly to entertain their chiefs when travelling to and from the Government office at Kasama. Another headman who had given up carrying annual tribute to the capital, owing to the distance, still claimed that he would bring flour, chickens, and beer to the *mfumu* if he heard the latter was travelling through the district. Young men at work with Europeans bring the chief no tribute in kind, but near Kasama sometimes carry him sums of money varying from 1*s*. to 3*s*. when he visits the Boma there. I saw the employees on the estate of Shiwa Ndandu give the late Nkula 1*s*. or 2*s*. each when he came on tour.

622 The people readily admit also their duty to give the chief food
651 when he sends for it, and indeed with primitive methods of storage
643 it would be almost impossible otherwise for him to accumulate enough food at the capital to suffice for sudden emergencies, such as the arrival of honoured visitors, or the presence of councillors on tribal business. The process of brewing which demands anything from four to seven days for completion also makes it difficult for the wives of a chief to keep sufficient beer for all occasions. During 1933–4, a year of shortage owing to locust raids, I saw Citimukulu send out constantly for millet, fish, and beer to feed

[1] *Ulebakile mfumu fyakulya fya kampanda*. Cf. also Cullen Gouldsbury's statement that the chief would put a taboo on the gardens of a man who left him without permission. 'Notes on the Customary Law of the Awemba', *Journ. of the African Society*, vol. xv, no. lix, 1916, p. 175.

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his councillors during a long series of meetings held to discuss the deposition of one of the hereditary officials, the appointment of the chief's new head wife, and the building of his new capital. He also sent out for food and beer for himself and his wives. I also saw many instances at the courts of Citimukulu, Nkula, and Mwamba of the chief's practice of sending a messenger round neighbouring villages to ask for beer on the sudden arrival of visiting chiefs or Government officials. In November 1931 the chief Lucembe received a messenger at 8 a.m. to announce the arrival of a neighbouring Bisa chief, Cunda Ponde, to ask for his daughter's hand in marriage. Lucembe carried on a ten minutes' conversation with the messenger, during which time he was evidently thinking hard. The moment he was alone he dispatched followers in four different directions to fetch beer, mentioning certain villages by name. It arrived slung on poles, and carried at a jog trot, at about noon, for it is the business of a chief to know exactly which of his villages has supplies of any particular food at any given time. In fact one of the important functions of the administrative officials and messengers who go between one *umusumba* and another is to report on the state of the millet harvest, the ground-nuts, and legumes of the villages through which they pass and the game killed there, and the chief's need of supplies at the capital is one of his greatest incentives to encourage agricultural production.

A regular annual tribute in certain foods (*ukutula*) is a due considered apart from these unexpected levies on supplies. The payment of such tribute is almost universal among Bantu peoples. Here it consists of an offering made on each year's harvest (millet in particular), beer and also, under certain conditions, a tribute on game, fish, or honey found in the bush. It is difficult to be clear how big this tribute was in the old days. At present the people tend to exaggerate its size—the chief because he is anxious to show how powerful he is, and the commoners because they like to complain of their sufferings. Both the chiefs Nkula and Lucembe told me on the first day of my visits to them that their subjects brought them 'one or two' baskets of millet every harvest as well as beer, but afterwards started to grumble as to the difficulties of getting their dues enforced, and I saw myself that the supplies brought in were actually small.

Thus of fourteen villages in which I collected figures in 1933–4 three had sent no tribute, one having special exemption on ritual

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grounds; one fishing village had sent three carrying baskets of fish, one voluntarily and two sent for; five had sent two gourds of beer each voluntarily; two had sent one gourd of beer and one carrying basket of millet; and two were waiting to send gifts until the chief asked for them. These figures show that the due is not fixed at the present time, but that an offering of some kind or other is usually made during the year. It is important to note that the contribution is made from the village as a whole. It is as a member of a village that a man gets permission to cultivate land, and it is the community as a whole under the leadership of the appointed headman which makes the offering. To collect it the headman puts an empty basket outside his hut and calls on each housewife to make her contribution. The levy on each person would thus be little more than 2 or 3 lb. per head, or about 3*d.* worth at current rates.

The tribute of game and fish comes under a different heading. In all Bantu societies so far described the chief gets a portion of an animal killed, or found dead in the bush, with special rights to some animals such as the elephant or hippo, and to leopard skins. To the Bemba the finding of game in the bush is essentially a matter of luck—the good fortune which only the *imipashi* can bring if approached by the ruling chiefs in the right way. Hence it used to be considered particularly important to carry a portion of the meat as a present to the capital as well as to the headman's hut.[1] In the old days, the meat of all big animals such as elephants or hippopotami belonged to the chief, and such game was in fact hunted only at his orders. A part of any buck killed in nets or pits would also be carried to the capital. The chief's portion does not seem to have been specified very clearly, and was variously described to me as either a front leg and breast or a hind leg. Nowadays game is scarce, and the powers of the chief greatly diminished, but it is still true that the inhabitants of a capital probably bring the whole of the buck to the chief for distribution; those in the neighbourhood bring a portion of the animal, while in distant villages tribute is brought in the case of unusual good luck or an unexpected find of a dead animal in the bush—treasure trove to which a chief has particular rights.

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In the case of fish, the supply is too irregular to make possible an annual tribute, except from villages lying in the big rivers, such

[1] Though the chief must have been powerful to enforce these rights and people admit that game was sometimes 'hidden in the bush' (*ukufisa mu mpanga*).

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as the Chambesi. The supply of dried fish from these areas was formerly an important asset of the chief of the district, and even nowadays Citimukulu and Nkula appear to get one or more big carrying-baskets of fish from these fishing communities each year, and more if the supply is plentiful.

In conclusion, therefore, it is clear that the *mfumu's* claim to own the food of his *icalo* is limited to his demand for supplies in times of emergency, to hospitality when travelling, and to tribute of millet, beer, meat, and fish, and that the latter offerings are made by the headman of each village and not by an individual alone. It is impossible to compare the amounts of food received by the modern chief with those given to his predecessors, since we have no concrete facts to go upon. But it is evident that the people still acknowledge the claims of the modern ruler to some tribute, however small, and even in cases where the *mfumu* is forced to pay money for food, as happens occasionally, he is yet expected to give less than the current prices for the goods. In April 1934 I saw Citimukulu pay money for beer during a time of great shortage, but he got two gourds of beer for one shilling instead of one, and Nkula, during the previous November, bought millet with salt, but again gave less than the usual rates of exchange.[1] The old *ukutula* dues have neither completely lapsed, nor have they been superseded by money payments. Hence, their economic and political importance lasts to the present day.

The substitution of money for tribute in kind has only taken place to a very small extent in this area. Many South African chiefs are able to levy substantial dues on the earnings of their own men at the mines. Schapera states that it is common for a tribute of one pound to be demanded by a chief from all those who have been away at work. He gives an example of a Tschwana chief, who, as early as 1882, sent an age-grade to Kimberley to earn £8 apiece to buy guns and ammunition, and recently (1932) of another who made a levy of £5 for a National school.[2] In

[1] In somewhat the same way most Bemba women are willing to sell grain to the Government at less than they can get from their fellows. In spite of the patient effort of officials to explain to them that they are perfectly free agents in the matter many are themselves convinced that they are under compulsion to bring what the Government send for, and to accept any price offered, and that they win the favour of the authorities by so doing.

[2] *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa*, ed. I. Schapera, 1934, p. 46; also I. Schapera, 'Economic Conditions in a Bechuanaland Native Reserve', *S. African Journal of Science*, vol. xxx, 1933, p. 645.

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the absence of tribal treasuries in all the Native territories of South Africa, levies have been make in cash for building schools, making roads, boring for water, &c. In the Bemba area the amount of money in circulation is very limited and the recent institution of tribal treasuries will make it possible for various social services to be provided from this source. There is also the historical fact that the chiefs of the Southern Bantu had formerly the right to 'eat up' the cattle of their subjects and hence it is but a small extension of this right to 'eat up' cash earnings. In the Bemba country, on the other hand, there was very little property in the possession of a commoner that his chief could seize.

Tribute Labour.

It only remains to discuss the third claim of the Bemba chief, viz. that all the labour of his people is his by right. All Bantu chiefs of whom we have any information have claims to the labour of their subjects. The tribe itself is in essence a chiefdom, a body of men who are loyal to one ruler. From the historical material we have available, it is clear that such units were built up first on a kinship basis. To the body of men who acknowledged kinship, real or fictitious, to one chief were added other elements, until the group grew to a large size. It was allegiance to the one chief which kept these people together through their long period of migrations and constant wars. The subjects of a chief were his men in a particular sense, even though the position of the freeman was distinguished from that of the slave in areas where subject peoples were incorporated as servants, or the institution of slavery existed.

The service a man owed his chief was either economic or military, that is to say, he might be employed in the cultivation of the royal gardens, clearing the roads, or building the chief's huts, or, in the old days, he might serve as a warrior. In some cases, the service a subject owed was specified and the army or labour force was organized. In other cases, the chief had a general right to call for assistance when in need. Thus, among the Nguni group of South Africa, and in particular among the Zulu and Swazi, the tribal organization on an age-grade basis was adapted to further military ambitions, and the subjects' service to their chief resembled a form of conscription, in which every young man of the tribe was drafted into a 'regiment' held in readiness to work for the king in

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622 his gardens, cattle kraals, village, or on the battle-field. Such
651 an organized labour force still exists to-day in Swaziland in the
[71] *amabutho* or regiments of the Swazi chief.[1]

Among the Central Bantu, the chiefs had despotic powers over
622 their subjects—in fact the right of life or death.[2] They had also
643 general claims to the service of their people in whatever way it was
651 needed. The Bemba king was the ruler of a military tribe as was the Zulu chief, but his army was evidently less highly organized than in the case of the Southern Bantu, and it was the village that provided the military contingent, not the age-grade. Over and above this, each chief was able to exact special dues of service to be used for agricultural purposes, known by the term *umulasa*. Our problem, therefore, is to discover the form in which these specific dues of tribute labour are exacted and how they affect the people's right to use the land. Is the service given in return for permission to cultivate, as the squatter on a European farm works so many months of the year in lieu of rent; or is the *umulasa* work given as part of a series of political dues by which a man's allegiance to his chief is expressed?

At present, the tribute service is a specified one and not a very extensive obligation. The exaggerated demands made by some of the South African chiefs on their subjects are not found in this area. The people rarely work more than two or three days a year and are very seldom called up more than once.

The amount of tribute labour demanded formerly is difficult to estimate. Here again survivors from the past delight to exaggerate the splendour of their rulers. They tell of the numbers of commoners who used to pour into the capital to serve the Citimukulu and they describe their work. It consisted for the men of tree-cutting, hut-building, hoeing, fencing, sowing, and in some cases of the traditional female occupations such as piling branches and reaping; while the women piled branches, reaped, carried in millet or ground-nuts from distant granaries, cleared paths or pulled up ground-nuts. These are still the tasks for which *umulasa* labour is used. The tribute service was and still is an act of recognition of

[1] H. Beamer, 'The Development of Military Organization in Swaziland', *Africa*, vol. x, 1937.

[2] If a family took summary revenge for a murder they had, according to Gouldsbury, to pay the chief a slave, as they had killed one of his people without permission. Cullen Gouldsbury, 'Notes on the Customary Law of the Awemba', *Journ. of the African Society*, vol. xiv, no. liii, 1914, p. 381.

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622 651 643 the chief's authority as well as an economic task carried out for him. Nowadays labourers who arrive at the capital must do formal obeisance to the chief by rolling on the ground in front of him and clapping (*ukutota*), and when they leave they repeat the process with full ceremony. Chiefs seemed to me to speak of this act of homage with pleasure. One described the *umulasa* system in words like this. 'They come: they work for three days: I make them porridge and then they come and make obeisance and go.' It is interesting to watch the men and women returned from the fields gathering on the outskirts of the village so that they may all walk in to the chief's enclosure together, and make their salute formally.

622 651 177 643 The *umulasa* system itself has been very strongly affected by European contact. In the early days of British administration it was discouraged, though never actually forbidden. Now many officials seem conscious of the value of the system as maintaining the chief's authority, but the latter's rights to *umulasa* cannot be enforced in a white court since they are held to be contrary to the Geneva Conventions on 'Forced Labour'. This lack of Government support has lead to the refusal of many natives to do their service. The introduction of paid labour has also struck at the roots of the system. 'The white man came to teach us not to work except for money', one old Bemba said, when bewailing the uncompromising attitude of the modern youth.[1] The exact amount of labour now done for the chief is difficult to assess. It is clearly very much less than before. Of twelve villages I visited during 1931 and 1933 five had sent no labour during the year (three of these owing to ritual privilege) and the others had sent contingents varying from two men and women to ten and twelve women respectively. The service is limited now by common consent to the inside of a week or even three days. From figures taken at Citimukulu's village during a nine-month period from April to December 1933, I estimate that 561 men were called up to work and 329 women, and that these worked on an average 3·89 days in

[1] The common association in the native mind between Christianity and European economic values is clear from the statemen: of a young Bemba asked to help some one in a difficulty, 'I am a Christian. I don't do things for nothing.'

[2] The figures of men-days worked were as follows:

MEN. Tree-cutting 855; piling branches 143; sowing millet 89; reaping sorghum 68; fetching food from different villages 14.

WOMEN. Piling branches 446; carrying grain from temporary granaries 146;

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the case of the men and 3·5 days for the women.[1] These labourers were drawn from 81 villages out of 160 showing that it is very far from true that every Bemba works for his chief at the present time. Added to this the number of adult males at work outside the territory means that the supply of available labour is almost halved. Two small chieftainesses, Canda we Eiya and Mulenga, complained that they could get no gardens made for them without the support of their territorial chiefs, and in May 1933 Mwamba, one of the biggest of the latter, had chosen the site for his capital, but could not get sufficient labour to build it until the copper slump sent men home to their villages. Citimukulu himself constantly grumbled that he could not get his gardens made, and even his band of personal followers and singers was very much reduced.

It is nevertheless a fact that the chief's rights are still recognized, even if he cannot always enforce them. Where money payments are substituted for tribute labour—and this only takes place very occasionally—it is an accepted principle that the *mfumu* should pay below the current rate. Thus in March 1934 Citimukulu summoned two bricklayers to work *umulasa* for him, offering them 2*s*. 6*d*. a week instead of 7*s*. 6*d*., the current wage, and this sum was considered generous. Chiefs also pay the tax of some of their followers, in return for work done, and in this case the latter usually get food and other court perquisites, and do an indefinite amount of labour. I saw Nkula pay a 4*s*. court fine for two subjects who were unable to find the money, but he ordered them to build him a house in return, for which the current pay was 10*s*. The legitimate claims of the chief to service are still perfectly well recognized in compromise arrangements of this kind.

It is also obvious that no system has yet been devised as a substitute for *umulasa* labour. To pay even the small force of labour Citimukulu employed during the period in which I took notes, he would have required nearly £36 at the current rate of wages out of a total annual salary of £60 for all personal and tribal expenses. So that it must be acknowledged that even if the *umulasa* system

[1] hoeing village beds 126; fetching fish and other foods 76; cleaning paths 96; digging up ground-nuts or Livingstone potato beds 68; reaping 12.
TOTAL 970 men-days.
For the building of the chief's new huts in a new village 807, including 421 spent making a brick court-house, as against 386 to build 10 huts of the ordinary type. 174 men-days were spent by the women in white-washing or making cement floors of the same houses.

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is functioning inefficiently at the present time (cf. p. 264) it is the only means by which the political machinery of the tribe continues to exist.

Tribute as Rent.

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It will be asked at once how far this tribute in labour and kind can be classed as rent? If by this term we mean a fixed amount of work or goods given in return for the right to use a fixed amount of land, then obviously the dues of the Bemba chief cannot be so described. They are part of a series of mutual obligations observed between subject and chief, of which the right to land is one of the gains to the commoner, and the right to service just one of a series of chiefly prerogatives. To make the situation clearer we should list the advantages both parties gained by the arrangement. Why did the commoner work for the chief? Partly because he was afraid of his power and partly because there were positive inducements to do so. We saw that a commoner who made a garden in the chief's *icalo* without permission was liable to have his crops seized in the old days. Some natives now say that refusal to work *amulasa* or *ukutula* would have meant mutilation in pre-European times: others argue, 'No. Since it would be stupid to cut off the hand of a man who would then be unable to work *amulasa* for his chief again.' One man told me that with the first default a man would have been scolded, and at the second his chickens and granary would have been seized. But in actual fact no old man I talked to could remember an actual instance of a man refusing to pay his dues, and I think such occasions were probably limited to open acts of defiance on the part of powerful young members of the royal clan trying to set up power on their own. Of commoners I constantly got the answer, *Ukuti bakana shyani?*, 'And why should they refuse?', with genuine surprise in the tone. The fact that the Bemba believed that their gardens were unlikely to yield without the chief's blessing has been stressed again and again in these pages. While some natives deny that the *imipashi* would refuse their beneficence to men who refused to work for their chief or give tribute, others assert equally emphatically that this is so, and all are convinced that it is definitely unlucky to offend him. To say of a chief, a white man, or any one in high authority that he is angry (*ukufulwa*) is a serious thing, even at the present day. Small lapses are not expected to be followed automatically by

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supernatural punishment, but a series of broken obligations such as really to offend a chief are viewed with apprehension by young men as well as old.

Besides this it was the positive aim of every Bemba to win the good will of his chief as we have seen, and the headman who willingly brought workers for the *mfumu* was sure of favours sooner or later. It is possible to watch a headman courting the chief in this way even to-day, and he himself uses any privileges he has had confirmed under the Native Courts Ordinance, such as the right to give a man permission to build a village, to reward any subject who tries to please him.

The tribute labourers got food and beer during the visit and they worked under pleasant conditions in large gangs of friends. Even during my visit I never heard complaints of *umulasa* where the chiefs had means of feeding their workers, and the visit to the capital is considered an opportunity to meet relatives and celebrities, to put grievances before the chief, or to transact any other business. The people still definitely prefer their ruler to have a big granary. It gives them, I think, a sense of security—a feeling of certainty that there will be food at the capital and a knowledge that they are working for a powerful and successful man (cf. p. 214). Besides this, a hungry man has technically the right to call upon his chief for help. I did not hear of this claim being made very often, but still, in a sense, the *umulasa* garden and *umulasa* granary are recognized as belonging to the people. A man can steal from the tribute garden of a chief, but not from those of his wives, and I have sometimes heard old natives speak with pride of 'our' granary, adding, 'It was we who filled it to overflowing'. Thus the commoner got by his labour the sense of supernatural support, a personal approach to his chief, food in return for his work, support in time of starvation, and, as we shall see, leadership in economic pursuits. The chief in return got extra supplies of food to distribute, the means of supporting his tribal council, the necessary labour for tribal undertakings such as road-building, and last, but not least, prestige (cf. Chap. XII).

In brief the extravagant claims of the Bemba king to own all his land and everything that grows or lives in it, only gave him the right to exact small regular dues on the labour and produce of his people, and to call on them for further help in times of emergency. These levies exist, but are very much reduced to-day. They

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622 651 643 formed only one element in the relationship of mutual interdependence between subject and chief by which the commoner, in return for accepting the political authority of his ruler, gained complete security as to his rights of occupying any amount of land he could use. He still has this security to-day, and can still be certain of the right to use his land in any way he pleases, except of course by selling it.

Land Tenure and Political Organization.

The political organization of the Bemba is based very directly upon this system of land tenure as is the case in most Bantu societies. The *umulasa* system makes for tribal cohesion in a sparsely populated district, because it emphasizes the unity of the village community and brings the people in direct personal contact with their chief—possibly their only opportunity of meeting him during the year. For the young at any rate, the week spent at the capital is an education in the political machinery of the tribe, and a means by which the authority of the chief and his council is displayed. The bringing of tribute to the *umunamba* could not be defended on the grounds of economic efficiency alone. It is a common sight to see, for instance, meat brought a two days' journey from one part of an *icalo* and distributed in a rather high condition, to *umulasa* labourers from another, and the inhabitants of a village who brought a basket of millet as tribute to the chief, at one time of the year, might consume an almost identical amount of grain in the form of porridge when next arriving at the capital to do their *umulasa* labour. But where the economic life of the people is so clearly dominated by the political, the exaction of these dues on land has an important secondary function in maintaining authority in the tribe.

622 651 647 643 It is also obvious that it is the chief's right to tribute and labour that gives him sufficient surplus food to feed his servants, his executive officials, his panel of legal advisers, and his tribal council. Some of these live at the capital but do not willingly give their days to hearing cases unless the chief gives them beer or food.[1] Others come from long distances, and will only spend the necessary fortnight or three weeks at the *umunamba* if they are fed. Without a full granary the chief is apt to find his whole civil service, if we may

[1] Since my visit a payment of £1 a year to twenty-five of the *bakalolo* has been instituted. 'Fiwa Report,' p. 188.

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so call it, melt away. Besides this, his prestige will gradually go when he is no longer able to carry out his obligations on the same scale as before. The situation has in fact reached a kind of impasse at the moment. Because the *mfumu* gets less labour, he makes smaller gardens and has less food to feed his workers, so that they in their turn are less willing to serve him another year. From figures I collected during my visit it was clear that in some capitals the labourers were getting no food at all in return for their work. The late Nkula employed a hunter, and had a reputation for giving his people meat. Consequently he always seemed able to get work done for him. Sub-chief Lucembe was a hunter himself and lived in good game country. He was therefore in a fortunate position. But Citimukulu sometimes sent men away without food, or gave them one meal in two days, while the women were supposed to bring their own supplies and cook for themselves. Mukuikile, a sub-chief in the Mpika district, fed the men, but not the women. It is clear from these instances that the modern chief is no longer able to carry out his obligations to his people. Those who grumble at the chief's lack of hospitality have reason on their side, but to refuse to do their service as a protest increases the difficulty.

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As a second result, many chiefs now fail to keep their panel of advisers and councillors at court to transact the necessary tribal business. I have seen the Citimukulu hear cases alone with his clerk, and during 1934 the *bakabilo* summoned by him on important matters of business invariably melted away before the end of the meeting because they had not enough food. It took a period of three months of alternately summoning the council and then dismissing it because of shortage, before the work could be carried through.

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Chiefs are also beginning perforce to refuse food to the hungry, and even to their poor relations. In January 1934 Citimukulu gave up the distinction between his *umulasa* granary and his personal one, and fed his wife and family on anything he could lay hands on. The right to take food from the royal mounds (*mputa*) already limited to near relatives, was still further curtailed. In July 1933 I heard the guardian of the Paramount's granary walk round the village at night shouting, 'Listen everyone! Hunger has fallen! No one is to dig up cassava from the chief's *mputa*. If he is hungry let him come to the chief and make obeisance and he will be given something.' It is true that this failure of commissariat occurred during a year when the locusts had done their maximum damage and in

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the case of a chief who was plainly a poor organizer, but the art of chieftainship is difficult to practise even in the most advantageous conditions at the present time. A servant of the late Nkula, who was a chief of far greater ability than the Paramount, told me ruefully that his master no longer fed all the inhabitants of the capital as he used to. 'He just sends me round the village to sit with the elders of each division (*icitwate*). If I hear so much grumbling that I am afraid they will begin to leave the capital, I tell the chief and he sends them what food he has.'

Such failures of the chief to provide for his subjects, little though he may be accountable for them, insensibly weaken his prestige at a time when the Government is most anxious to build on that attribute. The tradition of the generous king survives as a standard against which the modern ruler is constantly measured, and measured to his disadvantage. Despite all evidence to the contrary, the Bemba commoners continue to believe that their chiefs could give them more if they only tried. They make such remarks as, 'These are not chiefs at all! Look how much Citimukulu Ponde or Citapankwa gave our forefathers', and these memories actually determine the prestige given to a chief at the present day.

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If it be asked whether the Bemba chiefs could not substitute money payments for *amulasa* dues, the answer is simply that their salaries are not large enough. The Paramount gets £60 a year, of which in 1934 he spent £22. 12*s.* on clothing his wives and family, £15. 10*s.* on paying and clothing his messengers, personal servants, and band, and £2. 10*s.* on cloth for the ancestral shrines, thus leaving for personal needs, demands from relatives, ammunition, &c. the sum of £18. 10*s.* 6*d.* or only 30*s.* a month.[1]

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The other big chiefs have even smaller salaries, e.g. Mwamba has £30, Nkula £40, and some of the sub-chiefs as little as £10 a year. Added to this fundamental difficulty, the Bemba chiefs do not consider their salaries as funds to be used for the benefit of the tribe. They are something new, a sort of unexpected windfall given as a sign of the Government's favour. They are not yet part of the warp and woof of tribal organization. The food he gets, the chief distributes, the money he does not.[2] Nor does it seem that the newly instituted tribal treasuries perform any of the functions

[1] Cf. my 'Tribal Government in transition', *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxxiv, no. cxxxvii, 1935, for a discussion on this whole question.

[2] To a body of discontented councillors Citimukulu explained, 'If I had any elephant tusks, you know I should give them to you.'

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of the old dues on land, since they are to be used for new developments such as road-building, schools, clinics, &c., and not to institute paid service for unpaid labour dues.[1]

Here, as in many cases of adjustment between black and white, there appear to be two difficulties—the European's failure to understand the tribal machine, and a fundamental difference in point of view. 'Forced Labour' has an ugly sound to our ears. The claim of the African chief to be landlord of his whole territory is apt to strike the European as almost fantastic, and the administrator often feels it his duty to protect the natives of any particular district against any exorbitant demands their rulers may base upon it. To the white philanthropist it appears fundamentally unjust that a man should have to work without pay, at the arbitrary command of another, and that his right to live and cultivate in an area should depend on his willingness to work for the political head of that district. It is taken for granted that the *umulasa* system should be abandoned as soon as possible, as suiting ill with European conceptions of justice and the individual method of landholding which it is hoped the Bemba will finally adopt when they have been taught fixed methods of cultivation.[2]

At the same time, the discouragement of the *umulasa* system,

[1] The annual revenue of the Bemba from the new treasury scheme has been reckoned at £1,303, of which £993 goes in salaries to chiefs, &c. The recent Fun report recommends that 20 per cent. of the native tax should be remitted to the native treasury instead of 10 per cent. as at present. Op. cit., pp. 184, 190.

[2] As far as abstract justice is concerned, there would seem to be little to choose between black and white conceptions. The European attitude to unpaid service prevents the Government from approving of the *umulasa* system, and also made it impossible in 1933 for the administration to accept service in lieu of money during an economic slump, in spite of the frequent requests of Bemba chiefs that their people should be allowed to work off their tax in this way. This seemed incredible to the native. His traditional obligations to his chief were, after all, paid in commodities which were easily available—food and labour—whereas the Government demands for a money tax made it necessary for him to leave his territory in most instances to look for work. Otherwise, he suffered imprisonment, in which he did a month's unpaid labour for the Government, and was released, still owing arrears of tax! (By the tax-relief scheme of 1935, tax defaulters were allowed to work off their tax at slightly below the current wages, on public works.)

European concern at an institution which binds natives to work for their chief in return for the right of cultivation seems also inconsistent, since the squatter system of land-tenure is the only means by which a large portion of the native inhabitants of South Africa claim any right to land to cultivate at all, and, in the latter case, the natives work a legal minimum, varying from ninety days to six months a year in return for the right to settle. Added to which, the Bemba is free to go where he chooses without reference to his chief, whereas the South

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without adequate provision for the running of the political machine, naturally reduces the efficiency of the chief and his council to a dangerous extent, and even with such a provision, the abolition of all voluntary service for the tribe brings one of the most educational influences to which Bemba youth is subject, to an end.

To conclude, Bemba rights to the use of land are part of a reciprocal series of obligations between subject and chief. The former accepts the political status of subject and membership of a village group. He gives respect, labour, and tribute to his chief, and in return he is able to cultivate as much land as he pleases and to occupy it for as long as he needs. The latter prays to the tribal spirits in order to make the land productive, initiates economic effort, feeds the hungry, and maintains his court and tribal councillors—all that the Bemba mean by saying that he is 'working' his land. The political machinery founded on this system of land-tenure is breaking down with changing religious beliefs and the chief's diminishing power to exact his legal dues. But from the agricultural point of view the position of the commoner remains secure, and no Bemba chief has yet profited from changing conditions to limit his subjects' right of cultivation or has tried to exact a profit from his theoretical ownership of land.

Rights of Selection and Occupation.

I have discussed rather fully the rights of the Bemba to occupy land as these are traditionally defined between subject and chief. What is the situation as between one commoner and another? As far as the chief is concerned a man may clear the bush anywhere in the *icalo*, if he accepts the status of a subject and membership of a village community. This fact was made clear to me when listening to a case brought before Citimukulu's court. On this occasion the headman of village A on one side of a river complained that villagers from B on the opposite bank had crossed the stream and cut gardens in the bush immediately near his village instead of cultivating on the other side. Citimukulu heard the case at some length, but gave his decision without hesitation. He declared that no action lay, and dismissed all the litigants. He said to the assembled court, 'They are all my people. It is my *icalo* and

African squatter native cannot leave a farm without permission from his owner, and in some districts the native who breaks his contract with his landlord is convicted under a penal code.

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241 Sometimes a woman works side by side with her husband, piling up branches as he cuts them from the tree. Both may move out into temporary shelters (*imitanda*) built near their gardens, and live there for some weeks together. But the branches are harder to carry when they are heavy with leaves and green sap, and the Bemba reckon that any but a woman who 'loves her husband',[1] i.e. a specially devoted or newly married wife, would prefer to wait till the boughs have dried! The important thing is to finish the work before the end of the hot weather, when the parched bush often bursts into flame, and fires sweep across the gardens before the *ifibula* have been properly stacked. If the work has been delayed into September the man hurries to help his wife, and both carry in the last branches, stacking together in haste. Laggards are sometimes reduced to making several small gardens (*akakumba*, plur. *utakumba*), instead of one or more large ones, piling the boughs where they have fallen from the trees. With the last branch [579] stacked, the family rest. The women begin to enjoy themselves, and go on a round of visits to friends. The country is covered with circular heaps of dried wood waiting through long sultry days for the firing of the bush.

241 685 [643] *Firing the gardens* (*ukuoce fibula*). The firing of the *icitemene* is an exciting and important event in the agricultural year. No one may set light to his branches until a special signal has been given by the chief, otherwise one blazing garden might set the whole bush alight and possibly destroy in a day the unstacked branches of countless gardeners. Heavy damages are claimed by a man whose *ifibula* have been burnt before they were ready. In the old days a native who set fire to the bush, whether accidentally or on purpose, had to give up his own *icitemene* in compensation, and if he had destroyed too much property to be able to make the damage good, he became the chief's slave. If the chief's own gardens were burnt, some say the culprit would have been mutilated or beaten; others that he would have been made to work for the chief. Nowadays financial compensation is asked for, and I have records of cases in which sums from 10*s.* to £3. 10*s.* were demanded as a return for what is, after all, the loss of the whole prospect of harvest for the year.

622 241 693 The chief must give the signal for the firing of the branches as late as possible in the dry season to give the people time to finish the work, but he must not wait till the rains have fallen

[1] *Alotemwa kuli nsiku.*

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and damped the dry wood. Territorial chiefs try to synchronize the burning in one neighbourhood, and I have seen a messenger go from Citimukulu's court to Nkula's village, four days' walk away, announcing the date when the Paramount's garden would be fired. Besides the performance of common ritual, this is the only occasion when the whole Bemba territory is organized as one economic unit.

The signal for the firing is the lighting of the chief's own pile with the correct rites.[1] A bush fire burning fiercely gives a red glow to the sky at night, and I have seen natives living near Nkula's capital stand on their village beds at dusk, watching the colour deepen over the horizon. They talked in excited tones, and shouted to each other in triumph, 'Look over there! He has fired his gardens now! See how red it is now! The gardens of the chief are burning now!' And so the news travels from village to village through the district. In each separate community it is the headman who first sets light to his *ifibala*. At Pambalasa, shortly after my arrival in Bemba country, I saw the sons of the headman and his married daughters file silently into his hut one evening at sun-down. After ten minutes or so they emerged, and the men of the party swung off into the bush single file, head averted, very anxious not to be noticed. The other villagers explained, with the lowered tone and glance with which they usually describe a ritual act, 'They have gone to kindle the branches at the headman's place.' I found that the family had been calling for the blessing of the ancestral spirits inside the hut, and hence had been concerned lest I should see what they were doing. Next day, however, I saw a commoner set fire to his piled-up branches. 'New fire' is needed to set light to the gardens, i.e. fire made with fire-sticks or matches bought at a store. Arrived at his garden, the owner watched the way the wind was blowing, and stood so that it blew away from him. He made a rough torch of bundled up grasses and spat into the air calling on his *imipashi* for blessing. Then he set fire to the torch with a match, and ran round the edge of the wood pile lighting the twigs here and there as he ran. The piled-up branches, dry and brittle from three or four months' exposure to sun, crackled and flamed in a moment, and the children ran wildly round and round, shouting with

[1] Cf. pp. 372–3. Signals for firing the bush are among the orders a chief is specially empowered to give under the 'Native Authorities Ordinance' of 1929.

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The produce of

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rivers, like that of the bush, is thought to be under the control of the spirits of the land. To secure their blessing the people depend ultimately on their territorial chief, but actually, in the case of any particular expedition, on the headmen of the villages near the streams, whether these latter have succeeded to their title or have been directly appointed by the chief. Fishing ceremonies vary between village and village. The complexity of the magico-religious rites, the position of leadership secured by their performance, and the degree of definition of fishing rights depend directly on the economic value of the supplies.

Thus the headman of a village near a small stream offers prayers to the Land Spirits before an *ububa* expedition, as we have seen. But he is in no sense a leader in the enterprise, nor does his performance at the ceremony entitle him to special economic privileges.[1] Any stranger may join in a fishing party if he asks permission of the headman and gives him a fish or two from his catch. Each fish caught on such an expedition is the property of the man or woman who spears it, and, technically speaking, the headman or the owner of the *ububa* should get tribute from them. In the smaller rivers the supply of fish is so uncertain that most of these dues are not paid. *Mono* traps are set individually in the swamps without the accompaniment of any religious rite, apparently, and the setter of the trap may keep what he catches and put a conditional curse on the *mono*, if he knows one, to prevent fish being stolen. With net

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[1] The rites performed at an *ububa* expedition vary in different villages. Moloma, headman of one of the specialist fishing villages on the Chambesi, told me that in the old days spirit huts (*nfuba*, sing. *ulufuba*) to the *imipashi* in charge of the waters were built by the river and that the headman opened the season by throwing *ububa* into the stream, calling, 'Let them die!! Let the fish that have rotted be white on top of the water' (*Fyafwa! Fyabola fyabute pa mumbi tutu!*). This, he said, was to please the *imipashi* (*ukusekesha imipashi*). When the first fish were caught three were put in the *ulufuba* for the *imipashi*. 'Nowadays,' he added, 'we are Christians. We do *not* build *nfuba*. We tie knots in the grass instead to imitate (*kupashyana*) an *ulufuba*. That is our sacred place' (*E po mucumba!*) where we put the fish. A native of Shiwa Dandu confirmed this form of the rite. He said it was good to joke with the *imipashi* as men do with members of the opposite clan (*Bamungwe*) and say to them after calling on them, 'You are the Mpende clan (*mpende* is a big fish that eats little ones, *mpepe*). You eat *mpepe!* *Muli bene mpende!*) *Mulya ne mpepe!* This is the way men of the Crocodile rag with the fish clan, pretending they are going to eat them, and it is good to joke (*ukucema*) with the *imipashi* in this way. Also it is lucky to get a man who is a notorious drinker to throw in some *ububa* to open the season. Then the fish get drunk as he does. The man shouts, '*Ulaka ikalwe bacongo bacongo!*' (May they get drunk quickly, quickly!)

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first to watch the blessing of the traps and the weirs and later to invoke the help of the spirits at the setting of the nets on the big fishing pools (*ifishiba*). On both occasions the priest in charge asks those present if they have any grievance one against the other (*akantu pa matima*), for the *umupashi* of an injured person might prevent the catching of fish by the rest. He then calls on the name of each of the Land Spirits, strikes the nets to bless them, and says, 'You, our spirits, now we are beginning to work, we people. Give us relish this year that we may eat and be satisfied.' It is important to notice that by the performance of such rites the *icibinda* definitely initiates the fishing season and synchronizes the activities of all the fishermen, and that these ceremonial duties are the basis of important economic privileges, which he maintains in spite of the overlordship of the territorial chief. This balance of interests between the local priest-headman and the chief produces a complicated system of fishing rights. 226 463

Permanent weirs are inherited in the matrilineal line and their ownership is often associated with the headmanship of fixed villages. The owner, besides his religious duties, allots trap holes in the weirs to different individuals who set their *mimo* there. For instance, in one village the headman had divided the trap holes of a big weir between his sons and brothers, allotting two or three to each. Trap holes may be lent in return for a proportion of the catch, and in some cases a new-comer may obtain the right to build a small mud dike behind the main one giving tribute in return. Setting of nets arranged by casual agreement on the small rivers is strictly prohibited where fishing is valuable, unless the permission of the headman is obtained. 226 463 422 423

The *icibinda*, besides his right of allotting trap holes and giving permission to set nets, gets a proportion of the catch and also collects tribute for the chief. At one Chambesi village the headman (Molema) got one basket out of every three caught by each individual by the trapping method and two out of every three caught with nets. He sent to the territorial chief (Citimukulu) three baskets a year, two of these on the latter's special demand. In the case of some valuable fishing pools the territorial chiefs have secured special rights and can organize their own fishing expeditions (e.g. at Ca Kandwe, in Nkula's territory). 226 463 622

The sociology of fishing villages. Besides regulating the use of fishing resources this system of rights and ceremonies leaves its 226 463 621

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769 796 In this case the chief is praying for the welfare of the territory as a whole, and, for instance, at a tree-cutting ceremony, he is described as cutting 'the trees of the land' (*imiti ya calo*), as distinct from just cutting his own trees. This form of the rite was apparently not performed annually, even in the past. It involved the gathering of thirty or forty priests and councillors, with their respective retinues, and could only be undertaken when the chief felt certain of the loyalty of these hereditary officials and had the means of feeding such a large gathering during several weeks.[1] For instance, the present Citimukulu incurred for some years the hostility of his *bakabilo*, principally the Cimba, and hence was unable to carry out the full rite for some time, a fact which certainly diminished his authority. It seems clear also that the great chiefs of the past were able to vary the form of the ritual on such tribal occasions by adding particular ceremonies as special demonstrations of their power. The special tree-cutting and sowing rites described on pp. 366–74 are cases in point. Old men now describe such rites as having been introduced by such and such a chief, and count the number of times they have been performed.

769 796 782 (*c*) A still more elaborate form of prayer to the spirits is the series of sacrifices known as the *ulupepo lukalamba*—'big sacrifice' at which offerings of cattle, chickens, beer, hoes, or cloth are made at all the big shrines in the land.[2] This series of rites usually coincides with the first-fruit ceremonies, and in fact it would be difficult to feed a big gathering of officials except at harvest time. The special *ukusumata* (or 'tasting') rite for the Kaffir corn is first performed (cf. p. 378) and then the Citikafula, the *mukabilo* in charge of such sacrifices, should be sent with a basket of Kaffir-corn flour blessed at the relic shrines, and two oxen to the neighbouring shrines of Mulenga Porkili and Bwalya Cabala, the first royal ancestress. Here the beasts must be sacrificed and the flour scattered on the ground. This initiates the succession of sacrifices which are to follow. All the *bashimapepo* are called to the capital and are given cloth or chickens to offer at their local spirit centres, and messengers go to and fro between the different capitals to inform the territorial chiefs of the proceedings. They in their turn

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[1] The poverty of the modern chief and his inability to get tribute labour naturally makes it more and more difficult for him to organize tribal ceremonies of this kind.

[2] According to the degree of respect to which the dead chief is due.

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621 grand-daughters, 2 sisters, 2 maternal nieces, and 1 sister-in-law);
624 8 per cent. of the inhabitants only were thus closely related to the
184 headman, and 10 men were actually members of quite different tribes.[1] Thirty out of the 52 men had joined the village with the express purpose of finding work with the Europeans at Kasama and not on kinship grounds at all. In a community of this type Bwembya evidently found it impossible to control the activities of his people, and they gave him little economic help in spite of his royal rank. It is often stated that young men lose respect for tribal [177] authorities after working in the mines, and this is largely true, but it must also be borne in mind that the tribal authorities are in charge of groups of quite different composition from those of old days, and they are asked to perform different functions of leadership.

241 (c) *The chief's leadership in economic enterprises.* There are two aspects of the chief's functions as an organizer of labour. In
● 622 the first place, there are a number of activities he actually initiates and co-ordinates, and in the second, his direction of his own labour force and his accumulation of stores in the capital, sets the pace for agricultural enterprise and forms the basis of the whole economic system of the tribe.

We have seen that the chief actually sets the time for the firing of the gardens, and that the performance of economic rites still to some extent gives the signal for tree-cutting and sowing. The knowledge that big gardens are being made at the capital, acts, as I tried to show, as a stimulus to the undertaking of further work.[2]

Besides, it is difficult to realize, without living at the capital for some time, the extent to which the *mfumu* directs agricultural enterprises by advising or criticizing both the members of his own big village and those of his *icalo*. Ultimately chiefs want food produced in their district, because they then get plenty of tribute. They express this fact quite frankly. A severe shortage also, as I indicated, reflects on their supernatural powers, makes people begin to grumble, and even in time threaten to leave.[3] From all points of view, therefore, it is to the chief's advantage that the people should cultivate efficiently. Their knowledge of cultivating processes, soil selection, and the best moment for planting is also

[1] Note the proportion of men to women in these villages: i.e. 25:35 and 52:108 respectively.

[2] Cf. p. 371.

[3] e.g. the charges made all over the country against Citimukulu during the recent locust epidemic for failure to perform his ritual duties properly.

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considerable. Even the most stupid or beer-sodden rulers seemed to discuss such matters with authority. The chief always selects his own site for tree-cutting in my experience. I have seen Citimukulu and Lucembe advise women as to whether their millet was ripe enough to reap, and Nkula upbraiding some of his people on two occasions, once for making village beds on unsuitable soil, and at another time for not fencing properly. He turned to me with a look as despairing as that of any white educator, and said: 'Look at them! They are working anyhow (*cibombebombe*). Is not that what hunger does?' [1]

Of their *icalo* as a whole the chiefs also know a great deal. The messengers who go about from village to village to fetch tribute labourers, or the headmen who come on business to the capital, report on conditions. I was amazed in fact to find how much of the conversation in a chief's hut concerned the whole organization of the food-supply, the exact type of soil in such and such a place, or the methods successfully used on it. Comments and criticisms are passed freely. The chief also knows when and where the rivers are in flood, and, in an incredibly short time, how many buck any travelling European has hit or missed. Thus his position at the capital, a place where people constantly come and go, his specialized knowledge of agriculture, and his personal interest in food-production, the latter at present correlated with the whole tribute system, gives the Bemba ruler opportunity to lead and influence the agricultural activities of the whole tribe. This fact may well acquire administrative importance if any new improved system of cultivation is ever discovered for this area.

In his own gardens the chief organizes the biggest labour force that exists in the country. To clear the bush on a large scale (*ukutema pakalamba*) means making a number of gardens in the case of a leading chief.[2] When cutting on a large scale, many gardens are made. For instance, in 1933 Citimukulu made gardens as follows:

Personal *mulasa* gardens: (1 big and 1 medium)	= 3·2	acres (approx.)
Gardens for 16 wives: (11 medium and 35 small)	= 8·5	" "
Gardens for 4 'brides of the relics': (3 medium and 3 small)	= 2·8	" "
Help over gardens for 4 courtiers, 1 blind singer, 2 widowed sisters: (gardens unmeasured)[3]	= 3·5	" "
	18	" "

[1] *Moneni apa! Balebomba cibombebombe. Te nsala?*
[2] This does not happen every year (cf. p. 215).
[3] These gardens were roughly paced round the edges. A big garden means

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241 461 643 622 In 1932 Makassa made one big personal garden of about two and a half acres and medium gardens for five wives, two inherited widows from his predecessor, one widowed sister, and one deserted daughter. The amount of labour required during a nine-months' period for all the garden work of the Citimukulu plus the building of a new village has been given as 561 men and 329 women.[1] Mukuikile—a smaller chief—required 275 men-days for the cutting of his gardens, and 210 women-days for piling the branches.

In general, the *umulasa* labourers are supervised by the chief himself or one of his head officials, and the organization of this irregular labour force is one of the most important tasks he has to undertake, since on it his tribal supply of food depends.

Even though the *umulasa* labourers only work for the inside of a week, there are often as many as twenty or thirty men or women in the gardening team, drawn from different villages all over the *icalo*, so that the chief has not only the power to organize his own garden work but definite possibilities of instruction.

Work and Time Sequence.

221 From the main calendar of seasonal activities shown above, it will be seen that the season for tree-cutting, the hardest work of the men, is the cold time of the year, but this lopping of the branches can really be done at any time during the months from April until September when the forest fires which break out in hot weather might threaten to destroy the piled wood. The beginning of tree-cutting usually necessitates the movement of the whole family out into the bush, and thus makes a real break in the rhythm of daily life. During these cold weather months there are few other important food-producing activities for the men. For those who live on rivers, fishing on the flats begins in April and low-water fishing in July. The best months for net-hunting are hot weather at the end of this period. Basket-making and thatching must be done while the grass and reeds are still tall enough,

one more or less round, about 400 paces round; a medium one about 200 paces; a small one only 40 or so. Their area may therefore be calculated as follows:

'Big' gardens—2½ acres approx.
'Medium' gardens—7/10ths of an acre approx.
'Small' gardens—1/40th of an acre approx.

N.B. 4–10 acres of forest is needed according to the growth of trees and type of forest for one acre of garden. These approximations were made for me by Mrs. Gore-Browne.

[1] Cf. p. 258.

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TABLE D

Notes on the Structure of the Bemba Village

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I. *Table showing the length of life of the Bemba villages of three big chiefs' territories*, 1934.

Citimukulu's territory (Lubemba): 160 villages.
Mwamba's territory (Ituna): 69 villages.
Nkula's territory (Icinga): 76 villages.

	Citimukulu	*Mwamba*	*Nkula*
	%	%	%
New villages (i.e. headmen appointed in reign of present chief)	29	49	42
Villages with 1 previous holder of headmanship	16	26	9
Villages with 2 previous holders of headmanship	10	14	18
Village with 3 previous holders of headmanship	40	10	13
Villages formed by remnants of 2 or more old villages. . .	6	..	15

It will be noted that the proportion of new headmanships created by each chief in his own reign is just under half the total titles in the case of the territorial chiefs, about 30 per cent. in the case of the Paramount chief.

The striking difference between the number of old titles to headmanships in Citimukulu's territory and those of the other two chiefs, i.e. 40 per cent. as against 10 and 13 per cent. respectively, is due to the concentration of the hereditary councillors of the tribe (*bakabilo*) who must inevitably be headmen for social, political, and ritual reasons, in Citimukulu's district.

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II. *Table showing the proportion of commoner headmen to those of royal blood*, and hence the political powers of the chief.

	Citimukulu	*Mwamba*	*Nkula*
	%	%	%
Number of commoner headmen .	49	42	42
Number of hereditary councillors or priests, acting as headmen .	30	6	17
Number of descendants of wives of early chiefs acting as headmen .	3	..	..
Number of chief's relatives acting as headmen	19	41	33
Number of headmen from other tribes	..	10	10

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It will be noted that the number of commoners given positions of authority is under half the total number in each territory. The far greater number of chief's relatives holding office in Mwamba's country is due to the number of surviving descendants of the previous Mwamba (Mubanga Cipoya) an extremely powerful ruler, who put his relatives in charge of villages all over the country.

(*a*) In the case of Citimukulu, the chief's relatives consisted of: Brother of the chief, 1; sisters, mothers, or maternal nieces of the chief (*banamfumu*), 7; sons of the chief (*bana ba mfumu*), 10 (9 men and 1 woman); grandchildren of the chief (*beshikulu ba mfumu*), 9 (8 men and 1 woman); relatives in law (*bukwe*), 3 (2 men and 1 woman).

(*b*) In the case of Mwamba, the chief's relatives consisted of: 1 brother, 1 sister; 11 ranked as 'children of the chief', 3 of the present Mwamba, 3 descendants of sons of the past Mwamba, and 5 of the penultimate Mwamba (5 women and 6 men in all); 7 were grandchildren, 4 descendants of other royal lines; and 3 descendants of the wives of former Citimukulus.

(*c*) In the case of Nkula, the chief's relatives consisted of: 1 brother and 2 sisters, 5 'children of the chief', 4 grandchildren (1 woman), and 4 relatives in law, and 9 descendants of other royal lines.

III. *Details showing kinship composition of typical villages.*

(Only adult members of the village are noted. Such terms as brother, sister, grandchild are used to indicate own brother and sister as well as the classificatory extension of these terms.)

(*a*) A village composed of the headman's own *ulupwa* (the bilateral group composed of near relatives of both sides of the family, plus affinal kinsmen).

e.g. *Cikutwe*, a young *mukabilo* of Citimukulu's territory (1934).

Relatives of the present headman, including matrilineal group: 1 mother, 4 mother's brothers and wives, 2 sisters and husbands, 2 maternal nieces (deserted), 2 daughters (one married), and 3 grandchildren (1 male and 2 female) with their spouses.

Others: 2 married brothers temporarily resident; and 2 deserted wives, relatives of the headman's wife.

Relatives of the past headman:

Remains of *matrilineal group*: 1 maternal niece (widowed), 3 grandsons (married), 2 granddaughters (married).

Remains of *matrilocal group*: 2 married daughters and husbands, and 1 son (married) temporarily resident.

(It will be noted that Bemba make a difference between the kinsmen of the present and past headman. Both groups are really kin to the

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[754] witchcraft, handled by people believed to have supernatural powers.

(ii) *The magic influence of sex, blood and fire* which, when brought
789 into wrongful contact with each other, are thought to be highly
831 dangerous to every Bemba, but particularly to babies and young
372 children, who are believed to be vulnerable to so many dangers; and to chiefs, on whom the prosperity of the land is held to depend. This system of beliefs is extremely complex, and yet it is necessary to try to understand it, if the meaning of the chisungu is to be grasped. The dogma relating sex and fire is the *idée maîtresse* behind most of the ritual behaviour of the Bemba.

834 Briefly speaking, sex relations according to Bemba dogma make
784 a couple 'hot'. In this state it is dangerous for them to approach
783 the ancestral spirits in any rite of prayer or sacrifice; and any chief
●622 or headman who attempted to perform such a ceremony without purification would run the risk of bringing disaster on his district.
[793] The chief's shrines are guarded by old women or hereditary priests who keep sex taboos. For the chief to be casual in keeping sex taboos, or to approach his ancestors without purification is 'to spoil the land' (*ukuonaula icalo*).

831 All persons of sex maturity are in fact distinguished by a special
372 term (*wa kuboko*) and are excluded from a number of rites on the
784 ground that they are 'hot', or are likely to be 'hot'. Such people
783 can pollute the fireplace of a hut by touching it, and then a baby
854 fed with gruel cooked on this fire might sicken and die. Parents
846 who do not purify themselves after intercourse run the risk of killing their children by accidentally touching the family hearth. Adulterers are more dangerous still, as they cannot purify themselves since the necessary rite can only be carried out by husband and wife. Small babies and their mothers are therefore kept away from beer drinks where 'bad' people congregate drinking round the fire without care. The baby's gruel is often cooked on a separate hearth and in a separate pot. The art of Bemba motherhood in fact consists very largely in guarding children from danger from fire. A newly born baby is 'unripe' (*mubishi*) and is in a specially precarious position until it has been 'taken' by its parents (*ukupoka umwana*) by an act of intercourse and the lighting of new fire, when it is a few months old. To save the baby, it must be 'brought to the fire' by being held over the flames of a doctored

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fire when it is first placed to the breast, or when the cord falls off (*ukumwalawila*). If its father is away and the ceremony of 'taking the child' cannot take place, the baby is given medicine (*umuti wa lucshya*). The mother and the midwife extinguish the old fire, mud the hut and light a new fire. Then they carry the baby to the men's shelter where there are presumably many youths 'with heat' or 'with bad things', or to a kitchen where the people have been known not to have done the purification ceremony. In this dangerous company, they give the baby gruel cooked on the new fire to make it immune. The rite of *ukumukokotola* is a ceremonial spitting of raw food on the baby by a menstruating woman so that the baby can be safely touched by a woman who is in this condition. All these methods are believed to secure immunity on homoeopathic principles.

The chief's sacred fire, the fire of the land, must be protected with even greater care. It is placed in a separate hut and watched by a senior wife, past child bearing. The chief's food is usually cooked by a man and not a woman.

To remove the dangers due to sex intercourse a special ceremony is required and this is one which can only be performed by a legally married couple. Hence the close links between the rules of ritual and those governing marriage ties, and the great importance of magic belief in determining the strength of the marital relationship. At marriage each girl is presented by her paternal aunt with a miniature pot about 2½ inches in diameter which must be guarded with the utmost secrecy. With this the purification rite is carried out. It is filled with water and placed on the fire, man and wife each holding the rim. Water from the pot is then poured by the wife on to her husband's hands, and some say on to the wife's as well. New 'pure' fire is then relit either by means of fire-sticks, or, as is usual nowadays, with matches. This apparently simple rite is the essential act which removes the condition of hotness from the body of man and wife and renders them free to touch a hearth with impunity or to approach the ancestral spirits. Some say that it used to be performed after each sex act and others that it was merely done before some ceremony of special undertaking such as harvesting. It is still spoken of with the utmost secrecy and shyness and still survives even in the face of strong opposition from

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A murderer or a lion-killer can also harm a fire by being 'hot'. 783
They have done something fierce and must not eat cooked food 784
without purification. The clue to the solution of a murder case trial during my stay in the country was discovered by a Bemba detective who overheard the statement that on such and such a night, *X* and *Y* did not eat with the other men. 'They were eating their food cold'. In other words they had not yet been purified, and could not come near the common fire and hence could be presumed to be murderers.

It is difficult to exaggerate the strength of these beliefs, or the 372
extent to which they affect daily life. In a village at cooking-time 783
young children are sent here and there to fetch 'new fire' from neighbours who are ritually pure. Women in their periods call their sisters to cook for them. Young married women are seen sitting outside beer parties, and explain 'I have a young baby'. All the medicines have been taken and the protective rites done, but there is always the possibility that an adulterer might touch the fire when he is drunk and the beer might be polluted thereby.

There are other sources of danger. The first intercourse with a 833
girl after her initiation ceremony has been performed is considered 622
to be a perilous act. It is carried out with special ritual precautions and in the case of a chief, it must be undertaken by a special court official, (*kaulu*), who takes the risk on himself. This man must 'eat the chisungu' of the girl before she is taken to the chief. Yet, in spite of this danger, it is this act above all others which initiates the ritual relationship between husband and wife and it is valued on this account, so that a young man can claim damages if his [836]
betrothed has been seduced after her initiation ceremony, but before the marriage, for it is said that the chisungu of the girl has been stolen from him in this case.

One of the most fatal acts of all was for a girl to bear a child 848
before she had been initiated or before one of the more abbrevi- 777
ated rites now performed at puberty was carried out. Her child would then be a creature of ill-omen—*wa mputula*—who would bring misfortune on any village in which it lived. The child would be a portent of evil. It would stop rain falling. It would make the granaries empty quickly. It might bring dissension. The father and mother of such a child should therefore be driven out

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769 831 living. It also emphasizes the magical powers associated with sex which is linked with feelings of guilt and anxiety expressed in the taboos clustered round marriage, childbirth and the rearing of children. This feeling of guilt is so widely diffused that innocent [785] people are thought to suffer from the magical results of a sex misdemeanour committed by someone else.

581 789 837 These beliefs support the institution of marriage since safety from magical danger is acquired by means of a ceremony which can only be carried out by a man's head wife. No Bemba supposes that a husband will be kept from adultery by this means, but the legal wife is the only person who can secure him and those near him from the resultant punishment.

622 372 831 789 753 The reader is asked to bear in mind, without attempting further analysis, the association that exists in Bemba ideology between chieftainship, fire, sex and power to influence the fertility of the land and its people, and to remember that these powers are hurt by blood, intercourse out of marriage, death, murder, lion-killing and all cold, terrible or 'bad things' (*ifibi*). Fertility which is so much desired is produced by conduct pleasing to the ancestors, and to senior and especially paternal relatives, the blessings of persons in authority and the carrying out of the ritual of marriage. Illness is inflicted usually on the innocent party, by sex relations out of marriage without ritual purification, by bad conduct, and because of injury to people who, since they have died in a state of righteous indignation, will 'come back' to haunt the family which did them wrong.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

642 611 591 The most characteristic features of the Bemba social structure are its hierarchical and authoritarian type of government, of which the apex is a paramount chief believed to have supernatural powers; and its system of matrilineal descent with uxorilocal marriage.

643 The political structure of the Bemba is a centralized one. Its unity under a single head, the *Citimukulu*, was achieved, in 1931 at any rate, because of a belief in the spiritual powers the king was

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thought to control rather than to any very efficient executive machinery. 643

This political structure has been described by me elsewhere.[1] It is sufficient for my present purpose to explain that all the chieftainships in Lubemba were held by members of the royal clan (*bena ganda*). The paramount chief, the Citimukulu, traced descent through some thirty-one generations.[2] He was chief in his own particular territory, but paramount over the whole country over which he was believed to exert supernatural powers. He also commanded the army in the old days and was head of a supreme court of appeal. He enforced his powers by inflicting brutal punishments, such as mutilation, selling into slavery, and death. He also had the right to preside over the poison ordeal which was administered to suspected witches. He was supported but also controlled by hereditary counsellors who were in charge of the chiefly ritual such as the ceremonies at the burial of all kings, princes and princesses, the rites performed at the ancestral shrines of the tribe, the care of the king's fire and decisions over succession cases.

Below the king were a series of territorial chiefs or princes.[2] 622 These were his own brothers or parallel cousins. These were arranged in order of precedence. On the death of a chief the prince next in genealogical succession succeeded him. The king and the chiefs each had power to exact tribute and labour from his own territory. Each had his own court for his own territory. Chiefs were also in charge of shrines to the royal ancestors of their particular territory. They performed their own series of agricultural rites and kept their own sacred fire. These prince-chiefs had sub-chiefs under them in some cases and these were nearly always also princes of the royal blood. Below these sub-chiefs were headmen of villages. A man obtained the right from his chief to inherit a village from a dead headman by matrilineal succession or to build a new one if he had persuaded others to follow him to form a new community. Villages frequently moved as has been explained.

[1] 'The Political System of the Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia', in *African Political Systems*, edited by M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 1940.

[2] All members of the royal crocodile clan (*bena ganda*) are princes, but all are not appointed to chieftainships. For this reason the term 'chief' will be used for princes holding these offices and 'sub-chief' for the lesser princes under them.

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622 There was no permanent property to bind a man to one area rather than another and men moved easily to live with one relative or another. The headman's prime difficulty was in fact to persuade relatives to join him or if they had already done so to persuade these kinsmen not to leave him!

The headman could command small gifts in tribute and a little service. He also had a shrine to his own personal ancestors and performed ceremonies for the good of the village. He purified the village by an act of ritual intercourse with his chief wife and his fire was regarded as the fire of the village.

644 Princesses had an important part to play in the political system. The mother of the Citimukulu was known as the Candamukulu and she ruled over a small territory in the king's district and was thus in the position of sub-chief to him. The same was true of another royal princess, the Mukukamfumu who also had a sub-chieftainship in her own right. Both these princesses had important ritual functions to perform in tribal ceremonies.

614 173 The Bemba are organised in matrilineal clans distinguished by totemic observances, stereotyped forms of greeting between clan members, joking relationships with paired and opposite clans,[1] and honorific titles. Clan members reckon descent from a common ancestress and her brother, and they tell the legendary tale of the first arrival of these forebears in the country. They remember the villages where their ancestors first settled, although neither the clan nor any of its subdivisions can be regarded as localised groups at the present day. Clans are ranked in some kind of precedence, according to the order in which their ancestors are thought to have arrived in the country from the west.

611 769 Within the clan great emphasis is laid on the principle of matrilineal descent. Ancestors are remembered in prayers before the shrine of a head of a family. Here a man will pray to the spirit of his maternal grandfather or maternal uncle, if the latter is already dead. The spirit of a maternal ancestor is thought to quicken the child in its mother's womb and to protect it all its life. The name of this ancestor or ancestress is discovered by [553] divination, and given to the child. When a man dies his name, his

[1] See my 'Reciprocal clan relationships among the Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia', in *Man*, vol. XXXVII, 1937.

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When a man dies his name, his kinship duties and his hereditary bow are passed on to his sister's son or to her grandson through a daughter. The heir actually becomes the dead man in a social sense: he adopts the kinship terms the latter used, calling, for instance, 'maternal nephew' the person he would previously have called 'brother'. The same positional succession takes place in the matrilineal line for women, and a dead woman will be replaced by her sister or a maternal granddaughter. In this system women are honoured as the bearers of many children and such a woman is said to found a house.

In the case of the royal crocodile clan the maintenance of descent is even more important. All senior chieftainships in Lubemba, the country of the Bemba, are held by members of the royal lineage.

A successor to such a chieftainship has access to 'great spirits', those of his dead predecessors, and he not only prays to them at the sacred shrines in his capital, but he acquires supernatural powers in his own person, so that he can bless and curse. His good health and vitality bring blessings to the community, and his ill-health or death, the reverse.

Princesses have the special duty to bear fine children in order to provide the country with chiefs, and they are honoured for doing so. The spirits of royal women are mentioned in prayer in tender and grateful terms as 'those who carried us in skins on their backs and gave us suck'. The first ancestress, Bwalya Cabala, is buried in a grove which is one of the most sacred places in Lubemba.[1]

Bemba clans are not segmentary. The effective kinship group within the clan is a three or four generation group, the men and women who trace their descent to a common great-grandmother and who remember a village of origin (*cifulo*). These are not corporate matrilineages in any territorial sense. The kinship system makes for a great deal of movement from village to village during a man's or a woman's life. The villages themselves change in composition and move from place to place following the shifting cultivation.

There appear to be no fixed leaders of the matrilineage, except in the case of the royal dynasty, but this group is the unit of succession to the offices and the names of dead men and women and to their ancestral spirits.

[1] Cf. *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, p. 387.

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wife to the village of his own matrilineal relatives or whether he will remain for ever with his wife's relatives. In the old days, when conditions of life were more precarious, there is evidence that fathers were unwilling to let their daughters go away from home during times of war and raiding. When I was in Lubemba a man was allowed to remove his wife to his own village if he had produced children by her and shown himself to be a steady fellow. The decision seemed to depend on the relative personality and status of father-in-law and son-in-law. As I have shown elsewhere,[1] a chief was above the tribal rule and could marry virilocally, as could a polygamist in the case of a second wife. A man of rank or of good behaviour could certainly remove his wife within a few years, as could a man called to succeed to his maternal uncle's position, but during the year of my visit there were still men who had remained as 'strangers' in their wife's villages all their married life.

It will be seen at once that the pivotal relationships of the extended family, which is the basic residential unit in Bemba society, are the ties between a mother and her daughters. It is the women who attract the husbands who increase the community and it is they who usually remain in charge of the children when the young fathers go away to work in the mines. In fact a group of sisters living with their mother become so attached to each other and their joint way of life that one of them will sometimes refuse to follow her husband to the latter's village when he wants to move, and her marriage may then break up.

It will be seen, too, that there are several sources of tension in this type of kinship system. First the ties of loyalty which bind a man to his matrilineal descent group clash to a certain extent with the obligations he owes to his local group, his wife's extended family. At marriage he is separated from the very relatives with whom he is legally identified, and from the mother's brother to whose position he will ultimately succeed. He is in a galling position in many ways. He lives in a community based on kinship traced through women and he is economically dependent on his wife's people and working under their orders. Sometimes the bride-

[1] 'Some Types of Family Structure among the Central Bantu', in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, edited by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1950.

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585 burning log out of his hut to the crowd of waiting relatives outside. This is proof of his virility: the women shrill their plaudits and the men shout. The bride is given her marriage pot at dawn by her father's sister, and then follows the presentation of the bride and bridegroom to the community. Later comes the setting up of the fire-place for the girl and still later, perhaps after a year or two, the giving to the son-in-law of his granary and his garden.

421 The form of social structure I have described exists in a culture in which there is no permanent form of property, such as land or cattle, which could bind the members of a kinship group together or link one generation with the next. Consequently, social relations in Bemba society consist very largely of the giving and receiving of services.

556 Wealth consists of the power to command service such as a chief
622 calls for from his subjects, a headman from his villagers, a father-
606 in-law from his son-in-law, or a mother's brother from his maternal
604 nephews. Service could also be demanded in the old days from surrounding tribes which were raided for slaves.

556 Service makes it possible for a man to put big fields under cultivation, to build a big granary and hence to be able to feed more workers in another year.

622 Service was given to the chief in return for food provided at the capital and also the supernatural powers on which the people believed they depended. Service was given to the headmen from some of these motives also, but the headman was also usually a relative and he received these dues in his capacity as head of a kinship group. Those not so closely related he had to attract by a nice mixture of authority and the formal expression of courtesy.

576 In such a society the ceremonial expression of respect by kneeling
622 to a superior, clapping hands before him, offering him food in a specially formal fashion, or even rolling on the back is characteristic. Men should creep into the presence of their chief, throw themselves over on their backs and roll from side to side clapping their hands; the abject humility of the gesture is striking to the European observer. In such circumstances it will be readily under-
606 stood that the father-in-law attracts his son-in-law not only by the economic support he provides but by much formal giving of food

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The Cultural Setting

576 Bemba ideal behaviour is that of the *mwina umusumba* or man living at the court, as distinct from the *mwina impanga* or inhabitant of the bush; the country bumpkin.

577 565 A commoner is expected to be loyal to the death to his chief, and to accept the fact that his rulers have the right to all his time and all his possessions. He must be silent and respectful. Members of the crocodile clan are expected to be arrogant and even ruthless, but they must be generous in feeding their adherents.

888 561 Extreme deference is paid to age. Each child knows his exact position of seniority in a group of village children and is given precedence in games. Each group of men sitting in the village shelter does the same. A younger child is scolded for putting itself forward before its elders.

562 622 Bemba women share many of these ideals. They work for their chief in his gardens and make the same abject obeisance to him. They have a lively interest in the ritual centred in the court. They play an important part in attracting followers and kinsmen to a village. A headman's following or 'crowd' (*bumba*) is attracted by means of beer, good entertainment and company, and these depend both on the successful organization of labour, which is largely a man's job, and on the wise and tactful distribution of food, and happy personal relations, which are mainly in the women's sphere.

562 842 888 Women, unlike men, are admired for industry and for resource in finding food in the bush. They are honoured for bearing and rearing many children and for courage in childbirth which is often, under Bemba conditions, a terrible ordeal. They are expected to be loyal to their own sex and to accept the domination of older women.

562 644 622 In the sphere of tribal life women have an important part to play, or rather one that is thought to be important. As we saw, two senior princesses have districts of their own; and junior princesses often act as village 'headmen'. In all these cases they wield political authority but are regarded as chiefs with feminine attributes, that is to say, with more gentleness and hospitality to the needy. They are not expected to be ruthless in discipline. They have male counsellors to advise and support them. Besides these real political functions the senior women have important ritual duties since, like their 'brothers', they are in charge of

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
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ancestral shrines. They are also the potential mothers of future chiefs and provide their brothers' heirs. Senior princesses stride in and out of their brothers' royal enclosures, advise them, hector them and borrow their things. The senior wives of chiefs are also honoured highly since they hold in their charge the royal fire and they can, by their conduct, destroy or maintain the supernatural powers of the chief. They are thus able at any time to 'spoil the land'.

In courts of law women can plead their own cases; this is most unusual in the patrilineal societies to the south. When contracting their first marriage they are under the control of their fathers' and their mothers' brothers, but they are fairly free to contract second marriages at their own wish. They are certainly able to break a marriage contract with much greater ease than women in patrilineal Bantu societies who pass under the control of their husband's patrilineage on the transfer of cattle at marriage, and divorce is rather frequent in this society. Bemba women have the reputation on the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia for being quite unmanageable by men of other tribes. Such men shrug their shoulders, raise their eyes to heaven and say 'These Bemba women! My word! They are fierceness itself'.

Compared to many patrilineal tribes, the Bemba women seem to have a high status. Parents welcome the birth of girls since they bring husbands into their village and build up its strength. Daughters become founders of new lines since the succession passes through them. When they first marry they are under the very definite authority of their relatives, but they are 'at home' whereas their husbands are outsiders from other villages. They have the support of their parents and may form part of a solid phalanx of married sisters, and they are therefore in an extremely strong position. As they become mothers and grandmothers their authority increases. Teknonymy is practised and women are called by the names of their sons or daughters with the female prefix 'na' On the birth of the first grandchild their name is changed to grandmother of so-and-so—this is a title of respect.[1] The Bemba woman is shy and submissive as a girl, but once a grandmother she

[1] E.g. Na-Kampamba = the mother of Kampamba;
Nakulo-Canda = the grandmother of the Canda.

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duties, most of which are represented in mime. It gives magic protection to the parties concerned.

How far does the ceremony express other tribal beliefs and values? The following diagrams attempt to show the relation of certain characteristic features of Bemba culture, as it is described in Part I, to the chisungu and to other ceremonies which go to form the ritual pattern of this tribe.

The most important of these ritual series are three in number, if importance is judged, as I think it should be, by the length and complexity of the rites and the time and interest shown in them. The first of these ritual series is the ceremonial surrounding chieftainship—the long and arduous rites of royal burial, the almost equally protracted and complicated ceremonies for the installation of a great chief, and those for the building of his new village and his sacred relic huts. The second is the series of economic rites carried out at the clearing of the bush, the firing of the piled branches on the cleared site, the sowing of the seeds, and the harvesting and first fruits—and in the old days those concerned with war. The third comprises the chisungu ceremonies themselves.

The ritual pattern in all these ceremonies is based on an essentially homogenous body of beliefs—that is to say the dogma which links authority with the exercise of supernatural power based on access to ancestral spirits by those who have correctly handled sex and fire. In order to secure blessings in war, for tree-cutting, sowing, first-fruits, the filling of the granaries and for good weather, human fertility, harmonious relations in the village or a successful reign for the paramount chief, those in authority must have ceremonial intercourse with their head wives and then light new fire.[1] The same must be done when a new role is assumed, when, for example, a chief is installed or a girl made nubile, or a couple married. Such people are separated from the rest of the community and restored to it after an act of ceremonial intercourse —the lighting of new fire, the touching of the lips of the aspirants to the new role with a particle of food cooked on the new fire,[2] and their presentation to the community for congratulation and

[1] The economic rites are described fully in my *Land, Labour and Diet in N. Rhodesia*, 1939.

[2] *Ukubalishya* or *ukubapa ukuku.*

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admonition, as in the ceremony of *ukushikula* after marriage or the installation of a new chief or chieftainess. The same words are used for all these constituent ritual acts, and it would be difficult for a passer-by to distinguish one rite from another.

This fact surely accounts for the importance of the chisungu rite in Bemba culture. It is the occasion on which the girl is given her fire and her marriage pot and made responsible for their care and their use. On her handling of the hearth depends her husband's power of access to his ancestral spirits or, if she be married to a headman or chief, the blessings which are available for gardens, bush and village, political life and warfare. A glance at the chart will show that except for individual magic rites, there are no ceremonies in the last column which do not, in the last resource, depend on the chisungu or on the abbreviated forms of puberty ceremony now carried out instead. The supernatural powers of the Citimukulu and his brother chiefs are directly pivoted on the chisungu and its magic and didactic acts; this purely feminine rite is therefore essential to the welfare of the whole tribe.[1]

The chisungu can also be considered of importance to the maintenance of tribal traditions, because of its direct emphasis on 'things handed down'. The *mbusa* are referred to specifically in this way and this is said to be their value. The central act of an economic rite is a prayer and supplication to the ancestors when the officiant asks for what is wanted, blessings on the seeds for instance, or peace. He asks for them from beings who will not always grant these requests. The words are uttered spontaneously and the sentences have no very fixed form. They mention individual ancestors by name, vary the terms of address, and add a number of immediate and special requests as well as the more usual demands for blessings and fertility. For instance a headman offering the first fruits to the ancestor was heard to add at the end of his discourse a fervent appeal that I might not miss when I went out shooting, as I had on the previous day.

The defined elements here are the time and method of approach to the ancestors and the status and position of the officiant. With

[1] This suggests a hypothesis for comparative research. If my interpretation of the importance of the chisungu is correct a similar emphasis on instruction and care in handling fire will be found wherever the chief's supernatural power is thought to be closely linked to it. This question will be discussed.

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881 842 182 labour of the younger generation—of particular importance. There may also be a correlation between fertility rites and matrilineal descent and in fact such a correlation seems to hold good in Central Africa (see Appendix A). Bemba believe that the child is entirely formed from the physical contribution of the mother and not the father, and similar beliefs may hold in the other matrilineal tribes in the area. It is moreover common to find in primitive society that the woman is regarded as solely responsible for the failure of a couple to produce children. Impotence in man is recognized but not sterility. In patrilineal Bantu societies it is common practice for the man's agnatic kinsmen to provide bride-wealth for him to secure him a wife. If she proves barren the cattle or other objects are commonly returned or another girl provided [611] from the same lineage group. In a matrilineal society of the Bemba type the situation is rather different. The children of a marriage belong legally to the girl's family and it is to their gain if she produces children. This fact may account for the great care and attention given to fertility rites for girls among such people. The correlation of matrilineal descent with an emphasis on fertility is a hypothesis which will have to be tested more carefully in other areas. It would, of course be possible to relate the high infantile [165] mortality rate that exists among the Bemba to their desire for children and their anxiety over them. This is in fact what many Bemba do. I have for instance been told in answer to a challenging question of mine about the protective rites performed for children. 'Well! Just look what a lot of our children die'. However, high infantile mortality rates are too common in Bantu society for this to be more than a contributory cause to the desire for fertility.

881 182 622 The salient features of Bemba social structure are also reflected in this ritual. The characteristic attitudes to authority in this very hierarchical society are expressed in ceremonies by which chiefs are created and maintained in their supernatural powers, and in those economic and other ceremonies performed by the chiefs themselves. The chisungu is not specially concerned with political life although some of the pottery emblems 'teach' the girl to honour the chiefs.

881 182 561 However, the hierarchy based on age, which is also characteristic of every type of structured relationship among the Bemba, is

Pragmatic Effects

In Lubemba the chisungu puts power into the hands of the *nacimbusa*, who is an authority outside the girl's own family although in some cases she is the sister of the girl's father. She is not a member of the bride's own matrilineage. A mother cannot 'dance' her own daughter even though she is a *nacimbusa* of repute, in this initiation ceremony which enforces the rules of marriage and maternity.

The ritual mechanisms used in the chisungu may be further elucidated by continued comparison of this cycle of rites with the chiefly ceremonies already referred to. The difference between the two is striking. It is not only that the ancestral ceremonies consist of prayers while the chisungu consists of meticulously performed magic rites, and mimes, but that the personnel of the two ceremonies is selected in quite dissimilar ways. Those who approach ancestors—the chiefs, priests and headmen—do so by virtue of descent. The ritual is handed on by hereditary succession in the case of headmen, who use quite simple prayers to the ancestors. In the case of big chiefs, who are the focus of very complex ritual, the ceremonies are in the hands of ritual specialists, also chosen on the basis of descent (*bakabilo*). Thus the long rites for the burial of a Citimukulu, the installation of his successor and the building of his new village are controlled by hereditary buriers and keepers of the king's shrines, or by clan authorities with special ritual functions at the court. The chisungu is mainly carried out by commoners with no special relation to the chief and his court, although its occurrence will be reported to the ruler, as is any other important event in his territory. The *banacimbusa* are individuals who have won their way to their position instead of inheriting it. The officiants at the nubility rites are selected on the basis of age, personality and, to a certain extent, location, rather than of lineage, clan or descent from a royal line.

There is a marked difference too in the way the rites are performed. The headman tends to pray to his ancestors at dawn or dusk when the village is quiet and no one is passing to and fro. It does not matter whether other worshippers are present. The rites of great chiefs are secret and no unauthorized people can be present when the Citimukulu prays before his relic shrine. Death used to be the penalty for the man who entered a shrine without due permission.

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due permission. The common people hope and believe that the rites have been performed for them; they do not think that they themselves have a part to play as worshippers. There are secret elements in the nubility rites, but they are mysteries of interpretation and linguistic usage rather than ceremonies carried on behind barred doors. The main features of a chisungu on the other hand are its crowds and its thronging dancers. Again the ancestral ceremonies are performed in a reverent and quiet way. Nothing could be in greater contrast than the spirit of the chisungu with its noisy dancing and singing, its extravagant burlesque and its crowded scenes. The chisungu proclaims and teaches and requires a big concourse for its effect: it repeats, reaffirms and hands on by emblem and mime. The ancestral prayers are supplications to spirits who can give and withhold. The approach to them is difficult and can only be made by men in authority who have made themselves ritually pure. If Bemba believe in chiefs at all, they believe that they are worshipping chiefs acting as intermediaries for them, because that is their concept of kingship. They do not need to watch the rite of supplication itself.

I have tried to find explanations for an elaborate set of rites. They were ceremonies performed by people of a culture that was strange to me and in a language which I did not understand thoroughly enough for an adequate study of verbal symbols. The task has been one which no anthropologist could hope to achieve completely, but it extended my knowledge of Bemba institutions and values and set me, and I hope others, problems for comparative study in other matrilineal tribes. It has given me a conception of the great variety of different purposes which men seek to achieve by ritual behaviour.

I have interpreted the functions of the chisungu ritual from a number of points of view. I have taken it as given that some of the emotions associated with growing up in human society are universal, although they are expressed in a variety of different ritual forms. I have shown that the rites perform a particular function for Bemba society, for the different groups of which it is composed, such as the matrilineages and the extended family, and also for the individual actors in the ceremony—the girls chivvied here and there under their covering blankets, the anxious mothers waiting

595 Polygynous marriages occur throughout this area and the second marriage of a man is usually virilocal instead of uxorilocal. Save for chiefs, however, the polygynous household is not a recognised social unit as it is amongst the patrilineal southern and eastern Bantu. Where commoners marry two or more women, the second or third wife often lives in a different part of the village. Among chiefs, however, the wives live in huts fenced round by a common stockade. [622] Nowadays polygyny is not generally practised by commoners, though chiefs may have as many as several dozen wives. A sample of 209 Bemba marriages in the Chinsali district in 1939 showed 68% to be monogamously married, while an earlier sample showed 59%.(1) Similar figures are not available for the other tribes in the area.

582 Marriage within the Bemba clan is not permitted and Bemba themselves say they are prohibited also from marrying within their father's clan. This is not strictly true, since the preferential marriages of the Bemba include cross-cousins on both the father's and the mother's side. A further preferential marriage is that between a man and the classificatory granddaughter. From 144 marriages in 6 villages, 49% were between cross-cousins and a further 7% with grand-daughters.(2) A chief, but not a commoner, may marry the daughter of a son. A woman has rights over her brother's daughter, whom she may demand as an additional wife for her husband, or as a substitute, should she herself be tired of her partner and wish to return to live with her brother.

Inter-tribal marriages appear to be common today but formerly marriage was not allowed between members of tribes which believed that they shared a common origin. Gouldsbury, for instance, states that marriage was forbidden between the Bemba and the Northern Alungu, Senga and Aushi, but was permitted with the Southern Alungu, Tabwa, Lunda, Lamba, Bisa and Chishinga.

Divorce

586 Divorce was and is common amongst the Bemba, particularly in the early years of married life when the union is considered in some respects to be on trial. Where divorce occurs the children belong to the mother and her matrilineage, and no return is made for the service of the son-in-law or his token presents. Unga divorce rates, resulting from the absence of husbands from home, are extremely low according to Brelsford.(3) Formerly divorce seems to have been a family affair among the Unga, action being taken by the family of the injured party. Data for other tribes in this group are not available. Throughout this area main grounds for divorce appear to be the following: sterility, adultery, failure to perform domestic duties, or desertion on the part of the woman; impotence, ill-treatment and prolonged desertion on the part of the man.

FAMILY AND FAMILY EXTENSION

596 Among the Bemba the basic domestic unit is not usually the individual household composed of a man, his wife and young children, but a group of related households consisting of a middle-aged or old man and his wife, their married daughters and the latters' husbands and children. A young Bemba

(1) Richards, 8, 1940, Table A. (2) Richards, 8, 1940.
(3) Brelsford, 2, 1949, p.103.

624 blessing the gardens before firing, the seeds before sowing, and the first fruits of a number of crops. He must organise the payment of tribute labour to the district chief and pass on chiefly orders and reques[illegible] His privileges include the right to personal service from younger relatives and tribute of beer and/or meat. Primarily, however, the position is valued not for economic advantage but for the authority it brings, the command over a small following and the favour of a chief. The sanctions for this authority consist mainly in the headman's popularity, the strength of kinship ties between him and the villagers and their belief that it is dangerous to allow an elder relative to die while cherishing a sense of injury. Ultimately, of course, the headman's power depends on the support of his territorial chief and nowadays of the British Administration.

621 The functions of the different types of Bemba chief differ only in degree from those of the headman. Like a headman, a chief is in charge of his
622 own village, his *musumba*, and he tries to maintain and augment this community by acquiring a reputation for popularity and generosity. A chief's village in the old days was described as having thousands of inhabitants. Big chiefs' villages observed by Richards in 1934 had 400 to 600 huts. They were divided into quarters (*fitenta*) ruled over by loyal supporters of the chief, known as *bafilolo*.

622 Besides administering his own village the chief was responsible for making and confirming the appointment of headmen; and presiding over a court
[692] composed of advisers mainly drawn from his own village. Witchcraft cases
[681] had to be brought to a chief and only the more important among them could administer *the poison ordeal by mwafi*. *The chief could in the old days* punish by savage mutilations and by selling a man into slavery. Economically the chief was responsible for initiating agricultural activities by performing the necessary rite at the time of tree-cutting, sowing or harvesting. With the tribute labour at his disposal he made big gardens and built gran-
[721] aries from which he fed his courtiers, messengers and workers. The chief initiated military raids and other forms of warfare, and the great Bemba chiefs maintained their monopoly of Arab guns which they traded for slaves. Bemba country was, in fact, an area of strong centralised government. The chieftains of the Aushi, Unga and other associated tribelets were on a much smaller scale and weaker in political organisation.

[789] But the most important and characteristic activities of the Bemba chiefs are ritual. They are reckoned to have in their own persons power to bless
[763] and curse. They have to be protected from contact with death and to keep sex taboos of various kinds for the welfare of the whole territory. It is probable that the Bemba Paramount Chief in the old days might have been described as a "divine king" in Frazer's sense of the word; he was strangled
[769] when on the point of death so that his spirit should pass into the land. The Bemba chief derives his ritual power from the fact that he has succeeded to the names of dead chiefs and is thus enabled to call on a long line of ancestral spirits. Chiefs possess sacred relics - usually stools - which are
622 known as *babenye* and kept in special huts protected by "wives of the dead"
778 or descendants of wives of earlier chiefs. An approach to the ancestral spirits is made at these shrines. Chiefs also sacrifice at the deserted shrines of their predecessors (*nfuba*) and at other spirit centres in the area.

Much of their power depends on the keeping of sex taboos and the

622 778 protection from pollution of the fire which is supposed to burn day and night in a special hut, at any rate in the Paramount Chief's capital. An elaborate ritual concerns the protection of the sacred relics and the fire, and a number of hereditary officials are engaged in this task.

622 While all chiefs in this group seem to have ritual powers as heads of ancestral cults, and most of them possess and look after sacred relics, it appears that the ritual is far more highly developed among the Bemba. In fact, among some of the scattered groups on the western border of the district, there are cases where the spiritual ownership of the land is in the hands of a descendant of the original owner and the chief himself has diminished supernatural power; but further research on this point is required.

643 The Paramount Chief among the Aushi(1) held both secular and spiritual power in his own hands, a state which was interrupted from 1900-1930 by quarrels over the succession, during which there was both an administrative and a religious head of the group. This is the normal state of affairs among the Unga(2) where the Paramount Chief has never held spiritual or religious power.

Types of Chief

622 643 644 Bemba chiefs succeed to fixed titles associated with the possession of sacred relics. The chieftainships are of different kinds. The major titles are held by members of the royal dynasty and the royal princes succeed to one after the other of these titles in turn. For instance, for half a century or so there was a tendency for the Paramount Chief, the *Citimukulu*, to be succeeded by the *Mwamba*, who was in turn succeeded by the *Nkolemfumu* and the latter by the *Mpepo*.(3) The paramount chieftaincy and the major territorial chiefdoms are held by close relatives within the royal dynasty, usually own brothers, parallel cousins, classificatory brothers, or sisters' sons. Some of the territorial chiefs have under them sub-chiefs whom they appoint themselves and who are either royal princes, or in some cases "sons of chiefs". Several chiefdoms are regularly inherited by sons of chiefs rather than by members of the royal Crocodile clan, and it appears that once a tract of land has been given by a chief to one of his sons it remains as a gift which the succeeding chief can give to his son rather than to his uterine nephew.

644 562 There are also at least two royal princesses, the *Candamukulu* and the *Mukukamfumu*, who succeed to fixed titles in the same way and who rule over a group of villages rather than tracts of land. The position and power of the women of the Crocodile clan is one of the characteristic features of this area.

622 Lastly a few localised lines of chiefs, usually junior or ousted branches of the Crocodile clan, have established their rule over small

(1) Philpot, 1936; but in the Congo the Aushi have two chieftaincies or paramountcies. See Stiénon, 1926, p.59.
(2) Brelsford, 5, 1946.
(3) After a protracted succession dispute the *Nkulu* succeeded to the paramount chieftaincy recently; see Brelsford, 3, 1944, and Richards, 7, 1940.

territories generally in the capacity of sub-chiefs. Subject chiefs of alien stock, generally of Bisa origin, also hold some chieftainships particularly in the west.

Cases of disputed succession were decided by a meeting composed of members of the royal family and the *bakabilo* or hereditary councillors. Disputed successions and feuds between one chief and another were common in the old days.

The succession to Bisa chieftainships also goes from brother to brother and then to sister's son or sister's daughter's son, but the Bisa never reached the same degree of centralisation; they live in more scattered groups and, before the arrival of the Europeans, had no Paramount Chief. Little is known of the political structure of the Aushi and the Unga, but they have certainly not achieved a centralised government, and some of the smaller Aushi chiefs are living on tiny islands in the Bangweulu swamps.

THE MACHINERY OF CENTRALIZATION

The Bemba can be reckoned as a more or less centralized State in that its major chiefdoms are controlled by members of one royal family; its Paramount Chief had the command of the army and has the supreme control of supernatural power, the possession of the most sacred of the tribal relics and the right of appointment to lesser chiefdoms. He also provides the final judicial court of appeal.

The Paramount Chief and some of the biggest territorial chiefs have attached to them a group of hereditary officials who combine ritual with political and judicial functions. In the case of the Paramount Chief these officials, the *bakabilo*, number between 35 and 40 and form an advisory council on special matters of state. They include the hereditary officials in charge of the chief's relics (*babeny*), the royal buriers and embalmers (*bafingo*) and a number of other officials carrying out special ritual functions in connection with the ceremonial of kingship. These *bakabilo* are in a very powerful position. They are hereditary heads of villages near the capital; they are immune from giving tribute to the chief; they used to wear special head-dresses; they must keep the same sex-taboos as the chief, and are buried in the central district under his control. The real *bakabilo* are those connected with the Paramount's court. They are in fact called "the *Babemba*". The *bakabilo* of the *citimukulu* bury all the major chiefs and they act as regents at the death of the Paramount; any matter of tribal importance, such as a succession dispute, is placed before them. They check the power of the Paramount, since they can, and sometimes do, refuse to perform the ritual on which he depends for the exercise of his power. Being hereditary officials with lines of descent as old as that of the Paramount Chief himself they cannot be removed at will. They form a central tribal council but not a public assembly such as the *pitso* of the Sotho-speaking peoples.

Each chief has certain executive officials to support him. These include the *bafilolo* or heads of the divisions of a capital, who maintain peace in the royal village, organise tribute labour and allocate land for cultivation. They are appointed from among the chief's own favourites and supporters. Each big chief had formerly a number of captains or *bashika* of whom some were hereditary AND most were Appointed At the chief's will.

whom some were hereditary and most were appointed at the chief's will.

CHANGES IN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION INTRODUCED BY EUROPEAN CONTACT

In 1900 North-eastern Rhodesia came under the control of the British South Africa Company which had its headquarters at Kasama. While the chiefs were recognised, their functions were gradually taken over by the Administration and new courts of law administering a mixture of European and native law were set up under British magistrates. Chiefs were used largely as executive officials bereft of authority and privileges.

In 1924 Northern Rhodesia became a British Protectorate and in 1929 a modified form of "indirect rule" was introduced into the area by the Native Authority and the Native Courts Ordinance of 1929, subsequently modified in 1936. Chiefs, and in some instances chiefs' councils, were constituted Native Authorities, whereby they were given juridical powers over specific territories and encouraged to issue orders on matters such as village constitution, native movements, bush burning, *et al.* Native courts were also recognised and given jurisdiction over all cases except murder, witchcraft and issues implicating Europeans. The chiefs were given salaries - small in comparison with those received by other chiefs in Northern Rhodesia(1) and inadequate to their needs(2) - but which were, at any rate, indications of Government support. Native treasuries were set up in 1937.

Bemba chiefs had never lost their authority completely during the period of "direct rule", probably owing to the continuing strength of the people's belief in their ritual powers. They were no longer able to rely for their power on military success or the right of mutilating their subjects for offences, but the new measures gave them considerable government backing. But the poverty of the chiefs under modern conditions prevented the machinery of government from functioning. The old rulers were asked to carry out new executive duties but their councillors and messengers became increasingly unwilling and unable to serve them. Formerly they were fed by the chief while doing his work, but today the Government's discouragement, if not actual prohibition, of tribute labour, prevents the accumulation of food at the capital. It became necessary here as elsewhere to introduce some form of payment for court officials. The *bakabilo* were recognised as an advisory council in 1936 and it seems likely that judicial court officials will be paid in increasing numbers. Similar changes are probably taking place in other areas.

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS

(a) GODS OUTSIDE THE ANCESTRAL CULT.

In common with other central Bantu peoples, the Bemba and Bisa believe there is a high god, *Lesa*, who lives in the sky, controls thunder, sends

(1) £60 p.a., as compared with £1,700 for the Barotse chief. See Richards, 7, 1940, p.116.
(2) See Richards, 3, 1935.

631 The kingdom of Kazembe extended from the Lualaba to the Bemba country and from the Aushi paramount chiefdom of Mereneere to the Tabwa chiefdom of Nsama. The districts at a distance from the capital were governed and
636 defended by resident *bakalanga* (watchmen) appointed by and answerable to the Kazembe. Outlying dependencies, *anayanga* (sing. *yanga*), were con-
701 trolled by Kazembe's agents who travelled with their *mabumba* (retinues) to collect the tribute. There was no standing army.(1) In time of general war the governor of the frontier district, Moenempanda,(2) commanded the troops raised by provincial chiefs.

361 The earlier capital, on the eastern side of Lake Mofwe, had to be moved to a new site at the death of a Kazembe.(3) It was surrounded by a
643 deep ditch(4) and enclosed with a wall of reeds. Its gateway was decor-
644 ated with dozens of human skulls.(5) On returning to his country after the Yeke raids had been beaten off, Kazembe moved the capital farther south to Mwansabombwe where it has remained. The Kazembe had a large corps of palace officials, many of whom were his *bacamuna* (fellow-clansmen of his mother), and a bodyguard.(6) Fumo Anceva,(7) the Kazembe's chamberlain, superintended the management of the palace, escorted foreigners and arranged audiences. There were five classes or ranks of Lunda: Kazembe and his family; the descendants of the Lunda chiefs from Muata Yamvo's country; those of the Luba chiefs from the Lualaba invested by Mata Yamvo; those of the clan heads who came with the first Lunda expedition; and those descended from the indigenous Shila chiefs and headmen admitted to Lunda-hood. Only sons of a Kazembe by a Lunda woman of the second or third rank were eligible for the position of Kazembe.(8) A reigning Kazembe usually recognised his successor officially.(9) The badge of office, the *lukano* armband, had to be transferred from the arm of the dead Kazembe to that of his successor.(10) A *mutaba*-tree leaf was inserted in his mouth during the enthronement ceremony.

643 Kazembe and his household lived in the *mosumba*, the royal enclosure.(11)
644 His first four wives were given traditional names: Moari, Intemena, Kasaleuca, Fuama.(12) The families (? lineages) of women who had borne a Kazembe formed a nobility. Their members were the *bacalulua*.

624 Village headmen are nowadays administrative and ritual officials. They transmit the decisions of the Native Authority; they act as mediators in disputes, and endeavour to settle them amicably without the parties going to court; they organise work-parties to clear channels and repair village fences; they tend the village medicine (*nshipa*), ritually purify lion-killers, and take ritual measures to end a drought. Formerly they officiated at the sowing and first-fruits ceremonies. They are appointed by the
● 622 Kazembe from among the members of their predecessor's *cikota*. District chiefs hear cases in the first instance. An appeal from their decisions can be made to Kazembe, who is head of the Native Authority. The chiefs have succeeded the tax-collectors who were established under the British

(1) Valdez, II, p.238.
(2) Gamitto, I, p.246; II, p.18; Burton, p.110.
(3) Livingstone, I, pp.247, 264; Burton, p.139.
(4) Burton, p.43.
(5) Livingstone, I, p.247.
(6) Valdez, II, p.238.
(7) Burton, pp.101, 108.
(8) Gamitto, II, p.17.
(9) Valdez, II, p.232.
(10) Gamitto, II, pp.35-6.
(11) Valdez, II, p.214.
(12) ibid., p.254.

South Africa Company and were given courts in 1924. 622

LEGAL SYSTEM

In the past the judicial officer at the capital was the Musumancita.(1) An appeal from his decisions could be made to the Kazembe.(2) The *mwafi* (poison-cup ordeal) was administered to the accused man by his nearest relative.(3) The penalty for witchcraft was always death.(4) Adultery, homicide and theft were punished by death, amputation of limbs or genitals, or sale into slavery.(5) Travellers commented on the number of natives, even among the court officials, with mutilated hands and cropped ears.(6) Within the *cikota* homicide seems to have been compoundable. 681 [732]

LAND

The conquered Shila continued to be recognised by the Lunda as the owners of the land, and were consulted when fresh land was wanted for settlement. At present all suitable land in the immediate vicinity of villages is under cultivation but there remains a sufficiency of uncultivated land farther away. 311 423

SLAVERY

Slaves, sold to Arab and Swahili traders, were mostly recruited from among convicted criminals.(7) Livingstone gives this as the reason for Manyuema's reluctance to purchase Kazembe slaves.(8) 567

OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS, DRESS etc.

"The people are black, dolichocephalic, woolly-headed, thin-lipped, of medium stature."(9) The intermingling of tribes has tended to eliminate differences of physical type. Facial scarification and tattooings, once distinctive tribal marks, have become mere fanciful embellishments. Chipping of the upper front teeth is now rare. 141 142 304

On ceremonial and ritual occasions in the past the body was smeared with *mpemba*(10) (a white chalky substance extracted from the river bed) and the hair, worn long and plaited or made into a knob,(11) was powdered with *nkula* (reddish wood-dust).(12) Rubbing earth on arms and breast was a token of the respect due to chiefs.(13) The dress consisted of a bark-cloth skirt, *nyanda*,(14) or a cotton loin-cloth.(15) 302 291

(1) Gamitto, II, p.18.
(2) ibid.
(3) Holmes, p.55.
(4) Burton, p.129.
(5) ibid, p.40.
(6) Livingstone, I, p.248.
(7) Livingstone, I, pp.302-3; II, p.62.
(8) ibid., II, pp.28, 35.
(9) Valdez II, p.241.
(10) Burton, p.103; Gamitto, I, p.307.
(11) Livingstone, I, p.263.
(12) Burton, p.82.
(13) ibid., pp.45, 112; Valdez, II, p.227.
(14) Valdez, op.cit., p.219.
(15) Burton, p.127.

Introduction.

The Bemba, the largest tribe in Northern Rhodesia, have been studied extensively and intensively of recent years and a large body of published material is available for consultation. I do not think it necessary then to preface these notes with any sociological introduction. A list of some of the relevant works is given at the end. The two by Dr. Richards are especially concerned with the political structure of the tribe. (1), (2). 14

The appointment of chiefs lies primarily with the Paramount in Council, which is the Superior Native Authority, but as is natural, Government retain the power of overriding this organisation at any time. This power is normally exercised through the Council and has taken the form on several recent occasions of very full discussions between the Council and Government before a final choice was made. Government has also encouraged the Paramount and his Council to consider a reduction in the number of petty chiefs, with the result that they have recommended that certain of them no longer be recognised. 622 643

It is essential for the Government to keep a strict watch over appointments because each one affects not only one particular chieftainship but usually several others as well. For, generally speaking, the heirachy of Bemba chieftainships is graded, in several distinct sections, and the death of one means not only the promotion of a lower chief into the gap but often several moves up of still lower chiefs, resulting in the appointment of only one new man, and he the lowest. The moves often spread over several administrative districts and one of the aims of this paper is to give District Officers some indication of how the main moves are made and what change of chiefly personnel they may expect. I hope also it will give them some indication as to whether personal or tribal politics are entering into and prejudicing appointments. Such events are very common, because, although the system is complicated it is also very flexible, and personal animosities and friendships have often upset what appeared to be a traditional sequence of promotion. 622

The system of succession is very intricate to the outsider and a study of it is essential. There is no doubt that if Government did not discuss nominations with the Paramount and his council, and lend support when necessary, the various successions would present a very tangled skein to the ordinary District Officer. For not only do the previously mentioned influences operate but the hereditary councillors, *Bakabilo*, who form the ultimate authority, have often switched inheritances out of their course, and from older branches of the clan to younger ones. These actions have not only disinherited incapable or objectionable heirs but have sometimes been made with the object of giving good posts to distant members of younger branches, so that all members of the clan can share honour. Such power is easy to abuse and the Council is, of course, open to influence. Unless we fully understand the flexibility of a system that attempts to satisfy the demands of such a large clan, many choices of successor may appear very puzzling. At the same time this very characteristic also could give Government both opportunity and precedent for exercising influence. In spite of the many apparent aberrations from the rigid principles of succession, the tribal elders do keep very careful check on all the cross currents of successful 622 645

622 influence and upon the discretionary alterations of descent, and they always
645 come back again on to the main line, at least as regards the royal clan, after any short dash up a side line that has been made necessary by influence or by politics.

121 Government at the moment cannot follow all these threads, and at least once in the past an enquiry had to be held to disentangle them. This was in 1924 and I understand that it took Mr. Willis, the Provincial Commissioner, Kasama, nearly nine months to collect the evidence and give a ruling as to who should be Chitimukulu VIII. The object of this paper then is to provide an administrative guide not only to what should happen normally, but also to point out moves that contain the germs of future complications. I deal very fully with the principles of succession so that when the present holders of chieftainships are dead the traditional rules expounded here can still be consulted. I also point out tendencies that might simplify and stabilise the succession to the Paramountcy if the Superior Native Authority ever come to consider such objectives. Finally I indicate which are traditionally the least important of the chieftainships, as this has a bearing on the present Government policy of encouraging the abolition of redundant posts.

643 There is not one direct line of promotion through all Bemba chieftainships culminating in the Paramountcy, but there are several distinct branches even in the royal lines, and some of them are not usually connected by way of interchange of personnel. Some branches of the royal clan are for practical purposes complete in themselves, but there are others which are connected one with the other. No wonder the system is involved.

622 There are at the moment of writing 32 Bemba chiefs acknowledged by Government, and most of them are subject to change and promotion along one of the several branches of chieftainship.

611 Descent and succession are matrilineal. The totem of the Paramount
622 and other chiefs descended from sisters of Paramounts is the crocodile, and these men are known as *Mwinang'andu* (sing). I refer to them simply as the royal Chiefs. But some of the most materially important chieftainships of to-day are not held by *Benang'andu* (plural) and there are grown-up men of royal blood working on the mines and elsewhere who will never hold a Bemba chieftainship. The fact of belonging to the royal clan makes a man eligible for a chieftainship, but whether he gets one depends upon whether he is born of a senior royal sister. For there never were enough chieftainships to go round all the clan. I use the word sister frequently as a matter of convenience but the word mother represents the ultimate test. A man takes his seniority from his mother, consequently in a large clan it is only the sons of senior *namfumu* (mothers of chiefs) who can expect to get a chieftainship.

By senior I mean genealogically senior: that is, relative nearness to the mothers on the main vertical line to the left of the table and then closeness of position along the horizontal line of brothers and cousins of the same generation.

This point will become clearer as we go on. Succession is traced from *namfumu* to *namfumu* and the order of precedence is the order of the mother. The sons of a senior *namfumu* are senior to those of a junior *namfumu* although the sons of the latter may be older in years. The various branches of the clan each start with a woman whose brothers are royal

chiefs, hence my use of the word sister to define a branch of the clan. It is essential to stress that the words senior and junior refer to the genealogical position of the sister or *nsm/umu* and to her closeness to the earlier mothers and sisters. The word sister is particularly apt as the succession of the *nsm/umu* is from sister to sister when possible or to a classificatory sister, i.e., first cousin. 611 622

For the benefit of scholars I would insist before going on that this is not a complete history of Bemba chieftainship. I try to deal only with present day successions and I insert only sufficient recent history to explain why certain moves were made, or in order to indicate what should happen in the future. A minimum of tribal history is necessary to prove certain points. 121

644 551 have never obtained either of the two hereditary names are either because they have died before opportunity arrived or because they were daughters and thus passed over in favour of granddaughters.

644 Another point is that not until the fourth generation in this lineage, in line C, do we find more than two mothers of chiefs of the same generation. In line C the mothers of chiefs are, strictly speaking, four. But since Chandamukulu II C4 and Chandamukulu III C5 are blood sisters and since Chandamukulu II C4 failed to perpetuate her female line through Chilufya D4 the practical effect is to give us now three branches of the clan. The line of the Chandamukulus II C4 and III C5, that of Mukukamfumu C8 and that of Mushimba C 11.

Hence my use in later sections of the terms referring to first, second and third branches of the clan. I think such a use is justified since, as I have said, the two Chandamukulus C4 and C5 are blood connections and because the first portion of the line D as far as D5 is almost finished, its status and seniority being taken over by the second portion.

Such a division is perhaps very arbitrary but it simplifies the following interpretation of the tendencies of chiefly succession.

644 613 622 In earlier lineages there were more than the two or three sisters of Paramounts, but as I shall tell in other sections, their sons were not concerned with the succession to the Paramountcy. They were split off to found separate chieftainships of their own. In talking to the councillors about this they use phrases such as— " they were too far away (on a genealogical horizontal line) to be considered." It seems clear that the councillors have in mind some sort of stop on a horizontal line beyond which a *nsamfumu* would not be considered as bearing sons eligible for the Paramountcy. Where this stop is, of course, depends upon circumstances such as how many sons a senior *nsamfumu* produces. In the past, earlier lineages, whether from accident or design two *nsamfumu* have sufficed and so have two until the fourth generation of this lineage. There is supposed to have been a third sister (or cousin) beyond Bwembia A6 on line A who was founder of the Shimumbi house. See Section 3.

Before going on I should insist that where this stop is made, or if one is necessary at the present time, is a matter for the Superior Native Authority, Chitimukulu and his councillors. Whatever points I make from a historical stand-point I gain from discussion with the councillors, and whatever suggestions I make from an administrative point of view are subject to scrutiny by the Superior Native Authority.

My own belief that the stop comes almost instinctively after a second branch of the clan, is founded firstly on the importance of the fact that there are but two hereditary names of *nsamfumu*. Also on an authoratative, though guarded, remark from some councillors that whether the present succession stopped with Chikwanda D15 or went on to Kafyama D20 depended solely upon the position in the new generation, line E. In other words if there are powerful claimants or perhaps a sufficient number of claimants for the important posts from the senior but lower generation then the most junior of the higher generation to the right will be considered as " too far away." A propos of the present position one councillor said— " in the past there would have been fighting about it. But now the Government must settle this." From what has been told of Bemba history it would appear that he is right about this being a fighting stage.

Dr. Gluckman pointed out to me that what has been taking place in the Bemba chiefly structure is a feature not only of Bemba history but also of many other African systems. This is a tendency to dichotomy and political struggle for the big posts between the various branches of the clan. The junior branches tend to drift and separate from the main branch and then they have to fight to get back to gain the main chieftainships. The struggles are related to the territorial divisions and the fights and intrigues between the powerful heads of such areas have, in practice, the effect of periodically re-uniting the nation. For, after each civil war, the big posts leading to the Paramountcy are again in a single branch of the family. The Paramount himself takes over the Lubemba area and the tribe is united again until a new drift away of junior branches to become territorial powers recommences. This is not the place for anthropological theorising so I refer these characteristics to the genealogical table[1]. We now have three branches of the clan. The second branch, that of the Mukukamfumu has steadily moved farther away from the Chandamukulu line, but it has succeeded in taking one big chieftainship the Nkula, and perhaps a second, the Chikwanda. Hence the tendency, mentioned by Dr. Richards, for certain chieftainships to become stabilised in definite families, is partially true. (*Op. cit.* (1), page 103.) Unless the junior branch fights, as the Mukukamfumu one is doing, it would eventually move still farther away from the senior branch and find itself left with just its present chieftainships and no hope of getting to the Paramountcy. Any third branch of the clan, as the present Mushimba branch, would also find itself drifting still farther into a little separate line of succession. This has happened to third lines in the earlier and present lineage. (See Section 3.)

In the past this drifting away of a junior branch has often been stopped by wars and fights in which the junior branch brought itself into the Paramountcy line again. The Chimbola incident is one I have described. But these wars cannot occur in the future and the Bemba chiefly system is at a delicate stage. The old councillor who said that this would have been a fighting period was right. The Mukukamfumu branch has been satisfied, more or less, with the Nkula chieftainship since 1924 and the Chandamukulu branch still to-day says it is willing for the Mukukamfumu branch to follow on after it even to the Paramountcy. There is not much hope of this as I show later. The fact that there are two queen mothers with hereditary names is still a guiding line to succession and I am inclined to think that no son of a Chandamukulu or a Mukukamfumu would be considered as being " too far away " to come into the direct line—at the moment. The Chandamukulu succession must keep switching back to the extreme left, but, if the Chandamukulu has many sisters, daughters, and nieces, as in the present lines D and E, the Mukukamfumu must be pushed farther away to the right. And so her sons will be farther away from the Paramountcy. In time even a descendant of a Mukukamfumu would be " too far away."

That explanation is of future complications and most of us can see the difficulties in allowing the line to go on indefinitely to the right. To deal with present day succession. Is one stop at least to be made after Chikwanda D15, the last son of a Mukukamfumu ?

I will continue to refer to Mushimba C11 as the third sister because, as I have explained, her name has now been made into an hereditary one and I have classed, for convenience and because C4's family is at a dead end, the offspring of the two Chandamukulus C4 and C5 as one family.

[1] [see cat 116, pp. 44-50 — Analysis]

give many examples of third sisters with sons. This also seems to indicate that the third sister was not considered as an important bearer of a name. Mushimba C11 died in 1928 and she was the first of that name. In 1943 the Paramount said that the name of Mushimba should be perpetuated and he called Sampa E12, classificatory granddaughter of deceased, Mushimba II. It should be understood that all names are inherited. There is a Nakasafya called after B5 but she is not a *sam/umu*. But in the case of Mushimba the name now appears again for a second time as a *sam/umu* in a direct line of inheritance. But the councillors, in spite of the Paramount's statement, are still undecided as to whether E12 should still retain the name Sampa or be called Mushimba. So that even the perpetuation of a third name is still not completely settled.

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These historical facts show that in the past, whatever the real reasons may have been, the third sister and her sons were not concerned with the line to the Paramountcy. If they are to be in the future is presumably a matter for the main tribal council, or that part of it concerned with succession, to decide. There are however a few administrative factors which might influence the council either now or in the future. I think I should give them here in order to complete this full discussion of the position of the third branch of the clan.

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To restrict all claims to the Paramountcy and its attendant chieftainships to the sons of the elder two sisters only would, of course, simplify the succession considerably. The succession of Bemba chiefs is complicated and intricate mainly because it involves so many chieftainships, which are necessary in a large tribe, and because the system is spread over so many wide-flung administrative districts. When the present Chitimukulu D1 inherited it took a Government enquiry nine months to verify that he was the right man, and only the descendants of two Chandamukulus and a Mukukamfumu were involved. If the line is allowed to continue to the extreme right and involve any number of *sam/umu*, then the number of scions who have to be considered will become greater every generation. For death will not simplify matters so easily as it did in the past. This complication by number does not arise when a line of descent goes down vertically, or perhaps I should say, horizontally only in one branch. So that for administrative convenience it would be better to contain the succession within more definite lines.

613 622 ● 643 644

Secondly, with the line restricted there will not be so much shifting of chiefs on promotion from one district to another. For with more emphasis on a vertical descent it is more probable that the man to inherit is not an existing chief but a young man, nephew to deceased, instead of a cousin of the same generation.

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Thirdly this would help to stop a long succession of old men—brother following brother and cousin following cousin. There would be a more constant stream of younger men obtaining chieftainships. Moreover, this would give Government a chance to educate men who have a reasonable prospect of becoming chiefs. At the moment there are too many men of the same generation to be considered. We have had a series of old, conservative chiefs. It is true that the new people following at the moment are younger but, and this really important, they are all practically of the same age since they are of the same generation. So that in ten years' time we shall again see many important Bemba chieftainships held by old men.

622 If this horizontall reading of the table is extended beyond one or two branches of the clan there is not so much hope of getting a constant leavening of younger men. Most of the chiefs in the direct line to the Paramountcy will be much of the same age.

Lastly, the Superior Authority is being encouraged to cut down the number of redundant chieftainships. This will emphasise still more not only the intricacy of the descent but will make it still more obvious that only old men will become chiefs. If the horizontal line of succession is carried across as far as it will go and there are a reduced number of chieftainships this not only means that the claimants may have to be traced through a series of dead men but also that the general age of men succeeding will be still higher. For there will be so many cousins without chieftainships who must get them before the younger sons of *namfumu*.

613 That concludes the discussion on the place and status of the present third branch of the clan. The historical and administrative arguments
643 seem to be on the side of its members being ignored as regards the Paramountcy and in favour of them being restricted to their own separate little chieftainship off Shimumbi. What attitude the Council will take I do not know. The influence of Kafyama D20, the man who has a lot to gain, is considerable as he is a very assertive character. He will deal very roughly with any suggestion that history does not support his claims. However, whatever may happen in the immediate future this examination of the place of the third branch may be useful if ever a Council does consider simplification of the system.

500 Suppose this third branch was cut out. How would the descent go? Referring again to the table it means that Chikwanda D15 is the last man of his generation to be considered: that Shimumbi D18 and Kafyama D20 remain a separate entity and receive no promotion from their own chieftainship of Shimumbi. Thus when either Chitimukulu D1 or Mwamba D3 dies the Mpepo would become vacant. The descent would then drop a line to Chakwangashi E3, the son of Chandamukulu Chabili D7. (Chikwanda would not want the Mpepo as it is a less post than his.) The descent would go downwards instead of so far across. Kasonde D8, the next sister, only has daughters so the next vacancy might go to Mubanga E8, the son of Mubanga D9. If any of the sisters only have daughters or no issue then the offspring of a third sister would have to be considered, although the sons of the daughters themselves would not lose seniority. In the case of Chandamukulu II C4 and III C5 we have an instance of the line of a more senior sister dying out as regards succession and the next sister taking the place of the more senior one.

Thus the descent would be simplified and restricted. A glance at the line E, below that of the present chiefs shows how the number of female descendants is increasing. The time may come when not two or three sisters, but perhaps four or five, have to be considered and the line to the Paramountcy become still more complicated.

(c) The Present and Future Succession.

643 I must remind readers of the rules enunciated in subsection (a). That
644 the table is read as a book, horizontally from left to right, and that all the sons of one generation must be passed before there is a switch back to the left and down to a lower generation.

[see cat. 116, pp. 4-[illegible]]

643 644 by Chakwangashya E3 as Nkolemfumu, Mubanga E9 as Mpepo (or else Shimumbi D18 and Kafyama D20). This shows that Dr. Richards statement (*op. cit.* (1), page 103) that the present series of chieftainships is tending to become fixed in the main branch is somewhat misleading. The series can only be fixed if we cease to read the table horizontally and stop at a first or second branch. For example, if the third branch wins its claim to be considered, Kafyama D20 would take the Mpepo on the death of the present Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 because D3, D6 and D10 would move up and the Mpepo is too small a post for Nkula D14 or Chikwanda D15 or Shimumbi D18. Moreover, in the line D, Chandamukulu Chabili D7 has only one living son Chakwangashya E3 and neither she nor her sister Kasonde D8 are likely to have more offspring. Mubanga D9 has one son and may have more. So it seems in the future that the series of chieftainships mentioned will not stay in the one branch of the clan. (Another possibility that would break the series of names is that if Chikwanda were to die then Nkolemfumu might claim that post because the salary is higher.)

At the moment, on the genealogical table, Mpepo D10 appears as fourth in the line of succession and Nkula D14 the fifth, but the death of any of the first four would bring Musungu Nkula D14 up to number four, whether he kept his present post or not. It is not the actual name that counts but the place in the genealogical table. The present Nkula D14 would not move from his existing post, I imagine, until at least three of the four men ahead of him had died and thus left vacant the Mwamba. He could watch junior men, for example, Kafyama D20 or Chabili's son, E3, taking the Mpepo and the Nkolemfumu and he could still claim his right to the Mwamba or the Chitimukulu before them. There is a very present chance that Chikwanda D15 could become Nkolemfumu if he wished, because both Chitimukulu D1 and Mwamba D3 will probably die soon. But if Chikwanda D15 does become Nkolemfumu, which I doubt since the salary at the moment is less, he could not go on and become Mwamba before his elder brother Nkula D14, unless the latter agreed.

554 622 643 At this point I should emphasise that both as regards prestige and salary there is a distinct break after the three main chieftainships of Chitimukulu, Mwamba and Nkula. At the moment, as I have repeated, a chief called Nkolemfumu happens to be third in succession. But the post is not important by salary or status (see later) and once the present series is broken by the deaths of the two leading chiefs this post of Nkolemfumu will be taken by a man much farther away than third in succession to the Paramountcy. Of the chiefs of royal blood the Chikwanda is now the most important modern post after the first three for he gets the next biggest salary after Nkula on account of the size of his area and population. Hence my statements that Chikwanda D15 will no doubt wait and follow his brother Nkula D14, rather than take a post such as the Nkolemfumu which would give him a lower salary but not jump him nearer to the Paramountcy. That position a man cannot lose whatever chieftainship he takes.

551 622 643 I enlarge on this particular chieftainship of Nkolemfumu in order to show that the mere possession of its name does not bring the holder nearer to the Paramountcy. There are other royal chieftainships paid higher or equal salaries, and since it is only the place in the genealogical table that counts, a holder of one of these can hang on to it until a post such as Nkula or Mwamba becomes vacant. I must emphasise that genealogical seniority entitles a man in theory to claim any of the three leading chieftainships,

not because he happens to be one of a series of names. That is strictly speaking, but as I describe elsewhere the dichotomy of the branches and political considerations have kept the Nkula in one branch for two generations now. 551 622 643

This brings me to another interesting point connected with the break in the series of names. There was a chance that the series might have been Chitimukulu, Mwamba, Nkula in a direct unbroken line. Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5 stated his intention of claiming the Nkula on the death of Bwalya Nkula IV D12. He contended, and quite rightly, that he was senior to Musungu Chikwanda D14 and could claim it. If he had succeeded we should have had the new series mentioned. A glance at line C2 and C3 shows that an Nkula had been immediately after a Mwamba in the table in the past too.

The fact that Mbonkali D5 did not get the Nkula was due to the same reason that Chikwanda III C6 was not followed by D1, 2, 3 or 4. That there was the desire to give the branch of Mukukamfumu one or more of the higher posts. That was the reason openly given in 1934 when Bwalya Nkula IV D12 died. Such a reason emphasises the dichotomy of families, and Dr. Richards' statement that certain chieftainships are being stabilised in certain branches of the family may be true in a limited way such as this. But it is a dangerous argument for the present junior branches to press because if carried to logical conclusions it would freeze such chieftainships as the Nkula and Shimumbi in their own lines and tend to imply that they could not leave them to pass to the Mwamba. The tendency to split as regards the Nkula branch only started one generation back in line C in the present lineage, and some of the arguments given in the last subsection against the promotion of the third branch of the family could equally well apply for the restricting of the second branch to its own line. However that is a matter that is the future concern of the Superior Native Authority and Government. 622

Nkula D14 would take the post of Mwamba because the salary is bigger and perhaps because the status is higher too. Nkula V D14 makes a great show at the moment of not waiting for intervening deaths but of claiming the Paramountcy direct after Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1. But, as a glance at the genealogical table proves, all he has the right to do is to follow after the present Mpepo D10 to whatever post that chief attains. Nkula's mother C8 was junior to the mother C5 of Nkolemfumu D6 and Mpepo D10, so that Nkula D14 is junior to them in the right of succession. [554]

(d) Conclusion.

There are one or two interesting explanations necessary to complete this description of the line to the Paramountcy. 643

The status of the three or four leading chiefs seems puzzling at times. The Mwamba has often fought against the Chitimukulu. The Nkula has not, but perhaps only because the Nkula is a comparatively recent post and has not had the necessary time to build up power. There are several occasions on which Nkula might have fought had there been no European administration to restrain him. 622 643 669

Generally speaking, as Dr. Richards indicates, authority, power and prerogatives depend upon descent and kinship and all branches of the royal clan can claim connection with the original family of which a traditional Chitimukulu was head. 643 [614]

643 [551] Chitimukulu was head. The Chitimukulu is the oldest name of a royal chief. It is the name carried by the most senior member of the crocodile totem and as such it demands the most respect. The sway of a Chitimukulu is as much moral and spiritual as temporal. His temporal power too is the greatest of the chiefs. He lives in and rules Lubemba, the stronghold of the tribe, and in the beginning all appointments of chiefs to help him hold the widening sphere of Bemba rule came from him. He also has the largest number of people in his own area.

● 622 The Mwamba only appears as a hereditary chief two generations before the present lineage and his area and population are still much smaller than the Paramount's, even after some Mwambas have increased their power by war against the Paramount. Thus by tradition and age the Mwamba is second to the Paramount though at various times he has made himself politically independent of the Paramount (5).

The Nkula is the most recent of the main appointments. I tell the history of it in Section 2 and the high status is no doubt partly due to the fact that the modern Nkula is a continuation of a chieftainship once held by a senior house. I believe also that geography has helped to make him so powerful as well as the fact that the house now is that of the second senior mother. The Chambeshi is said to be a religious boundary as well as a [643 geographical one. A Paramount has occasionally crossed it but only after 788] performing a ceremony including the dropping of beads into the river. Thus Nkula has built up a geographical power to the east of the Chambeshi. The genealogical drift of the Mukukamfumu branch of the clan away from the Paramountcy has emphasised his independence. But the age of his title puts him below Mwamba in status although now his population is much larger.

[551] The name Nkolemfumu is older than Nkula but the reason Nkula is now higher in status is because there has been a gap in the continuity of the Nkolemfumu name and because the Nkula now has part of the area that was the care of Nkolemfumu. The old Nkolemfumu lived to the west of the Chambeshi, as now, but his sway stretched across into part of what is now Nkula's country. When Chitimukulu Chileshye Chepela A2 usurped the throne an Nkolemfumu had just died. Chileshye A2 had no one to send to inherit the place (Bwembia A2 was a fool) so he brought all the *babenye* relics and gave them to the care of Mwamba who also took over most of the area. When Chitapankwa B4 became Chitimukulu he usurped the Nkula for his family, giving his brother Sampa B4 as Nkula I the old Nkolemfumu area to the east of the Chambeshi. Later he re-created a smaller Nkolemfumu which he gave to Mubanga Chipoya C2, who thus became Nkolemfumu I of a new lineage.

551 554 622 643 There is thus no doubt about the traditional order of status of the three leading names. Chitimukulu is first, Mwamba is second and Nkula third. Beyond that I doubt if it is possible to say more than that status perhaps follows genealogical closeness to the Paramountcy. The Mwamba probably will stick as second, even in genealogical closeness, from now on, but Nkula comes third in status by tradition as well as in modern importance however far away to the right he may be on a genealogical table.

622 The Nkolemfumu succession has gone fairly regularly since Mubanga Chipoya C2, the first of the name in the new lineage. When he died, Mutale Sichansa C3 and Chikwanda C6 were involved in the Nkula and Chikwanda

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moves described elsewhere. Ponde C10 is said to have refused the Nkolemfumu as being too small for him and thereby starting his long feud with the Chandamukulu branch. C7, C9 and C12 were dead so Kanyanta D1 became Nkolemfumu II. Since then succession has been regular.

The Mpepo is a very new chieftainship. The present chief D10 is only the fourth holder. The post was created by Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2. He had been a great fighter against the Bisa of Mpika and when he left that area to become Nkolemfumu he took his youngest nephew and made him responsible for looking after the Bisa. The nephew became the first Mpepo and he is still living now as Mwamba D3. The succession has gone regularly along the horizontal line from brother to brother or cousin and can be seen easily along line D of the table.

Section 2.—THE LINE OF NKULA.

613 622 At the moment this is the house of Mukukamfumu, the second (my classification) branch of the clan. I have dealt adequately with the history and position of Mukukamfumu, and the association of the various Nkulas with the Paramountcy has been mentioned in the first section. I must now give a brief connected description of the succession.

In the old lineage there was a house of a *samfumu* Ngoshe, who is said to have been the senior sister of a Chitimukulu Katongo. Her line was pushed out of the Paramountcy line in one of the typical wars between the various branches of the clan. They were left with a chieftainship of Chewe, rather like the Chimbola house arrangement later, beyond the Chambeshi.

The first Chewe was to have been succeeded by his nephew but the nephew's younger brother quarrelled with the heir, dragged him out of a hut by his leg and told him to keep away. The younger brother took the post and was known as Nkula-Chewe (from Ku-kula, to drag or pull).

This Nkula—Chewe was succeeded by another nephew Chimfwembe who was holding the post at the time Chileshe Chepela A2 took the Paramountcy. When Chimfwembe died the Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 thought it was a chance to take even the one chieftainship from the house of Ngoshye. Chief Mwaba (another relic of an old royal family—see later) wanted to take the area. But Chitapankwa B4 sent his younger brother Sampa Kapalakasha B6 and there was a fight in which Mwaba was killed.

Kapalakashya B6 is usually classed as Nkula I of the new lineage but he did not stay very long in the area. He was next to become Paramount and he wished to be on hand when Chitapankwa B4 died. So he went back to Lubemba.

The weakling Chimfwembe B7 could not be given a post where a strong man was needed to take the brunt of Ngoni and Senga raids so the nephew Mutale Sichansa C3 was made Nkula II. Mutale Sichansa C3 had missed the Nkolemfumu post because Mwamba Kapalaula B3 and Chitapankwa B4 had both died within a short time of each other, as I have related, and thus Mubanga Chipoya C2 could leave Nkolemfumu to become Mwamba and his younger brother Mutale Sichansa C3 jump the Nkolemfumu for the bigger post of Nkula. He died as Nkula and Chikwanda I C6 holding a post newly created by Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 succeeded him. But he only stayed as Nkula III for a very short period for, it is said he hankered after the salt pans at Chibwa, and the richer elephant country of his old home as Chikwanda in the Mpika district. There is another story. Kapalakashya B6 had taken the relics (*babenye*) of the house of Chewe and Sichansa C3 had inherited them. But as soon as Sichansa C3 died the Chewe house took them back again and refused to give them to Chikwanda C6. It is said that "uncles" cannot make war on "nephews" though the nephew can make war on uncle. A very subtle point of chiefly etiquette! So Chikwanda C6 could not wrest the relics from a Chewe who was his classificatory nephew and he left the Nkula saying that a nephew of his could come and fight the uncle Che[illegible] He left Chinsali and went back as Chikwanda. Whilst Chikwanda C[illegible]d been Nkula, Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya

C2 had died and the incidents related previously concerning the Mwamba succession had occurred. Ponde C10 was defeated by Government forces and he obtained neither the Mwamba nor the Nkula. The opposition of the Chandamukulu family and the defeat and flight kept him from both these posts. Another story is that Ponde C10 was a favourite of Chitimukulu Chimfwembe B7 and that he enjoyed far more power and influence as unofficial aide-de-camp and regent to the Paramount than he would have as Nkula. 613 622

So the succession had to drop a line to the next generation. The post was the third most important in the tribe and it had not yet become stabilised in the one branch of the clan, for Nkula II C3 was from a senior *namfumu*, Mukukamfumu II B2 at the extreme left of the table. Why then did not Luatila D2 claim the Nkula ?

Only at this recent point in chiefly history, 1911, and with the fourth Nkula did the stabilisation of the Nkula in the one family begin. The only story of why Luatila D2 did not go to be Nkula is that both Chikwanda C6 and Ponde C10 sent word that they would not accept him. They said that the Chandamukulu branch held the Mwamba post and they wanted the Nkula for one of their branch. The Chandamukulu branch agreed and the stabilisation of the Nkula was begun.

Kafola D11 was dead so Bwalya D12 the senior nephew of Mukukamfumu C8, became Nkula IV about 1911. Chikwanda C6 only had a few months in his old post of Chikwanda when Chitimukulu Makumba B7 died and Chikwanda C6 inherited the Paramountcy. He was succeeded as Chikwanda II by Musungu D14 the younger brother of Bwalya Nkula D12. Chewe died about 1912 and Bwalya Nkula D12 obtained the relics without a war and then brought in his youngest brother Bwembya D15 as Chewe.

Bwalya Nkula IV D12 died in 1934 and, as I have mentioned, Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5 did claim the post. It was the most recent attempt to keep all the big chieftainships in the one branch but it failed. The Paramount and councillors insisted that the Mukukamfumu branch must keep this one big chieftainship. So Chikwanda II D14 followed his brother and became Nkula V. He still holds the post. He was succeeded as Chikwanda III by Bwembya Chewe D15 and since the Chewe was proving but a small post the Superior Native Authority abolished the post and Nkula absorbed the area.

It is an interesting history giving an illustration of another senior branch of the clan the Ngoshye being swept into nonentity by the present senior house and it also shows the beginning of the present drift of the Mukukamfumu branch away from the main line. But at the same time, neither the late Nkula D12 nor the present one D14 acknowledge that they are too far away to become Paramounts.

Nkula's present position assessed by Government as regards salary, is as third in the Bemba heirarchy, following Chitimukulu and Mwamba. This follows closely his traditional status. Some people doubt whether Nkula would leave his post to become Mwamba if such an opening occurred. I am sure he would because Mwamba's salary is higher than Nkula's, and Nkula would be gaining in honour and status by becoming Mwamba. He would be justified in jumping over any Nkolemfumu or Mpepo who had been appointed from further to the right on the table or from the line below, as he himself would not have left his post to become Nkolemfumu or Mpepo. [554]

613 622 At the moment with a younger man in one of these two posts and both held by men who will obtain the Paramountcy and Mwamba before him, it does not seem likely that the present Nkula will ever change his post.

At one period in recent history, as I have related, there were three royal chieftainships belonging to this house, Nkula, Chikwanda and Chewe. There are only two royal chieftainships now held by this branch of the clan, plus one or two for sons.

The line of Nkula is now—Nkula D14 followed by Chikwanda D15. As to who follows Chikwanda D15 depends upon whether the third branch of the clan is allowed to follow the to left and who dies first. If the third branch is followed, Shimumbi D18 may move up, followed by Kafyama D20. It should be remembered that the Nkolemfumu is a bigger post than the Shimumbi and that the Chikwanda is bigger than either of them. So that the Chikwanda D15 would only move to take the Nkula or the Mwamba.

It is hardly possible to say more about this succession at the moment. Nkula D15 is not likely to become Mwamba so he will stay and thus be succeeded by Chikwanda D15. The Nkolemfumu and Mpepo posts will either be filled by Shimumbi D18 and Kafyama D20, or by sons of Chabili D7 or Mubanga D9, for if the Mushimba branch is cut out the descent must switch back to the left and drop a line.

Thus who follows Chikwanda D15 if he becomes Nkula depends upon moves that will follow the death of Chitimukulu D1 or Mwamba D3. We shall see then whether the third family is to come into the line. But not until Chikwanda D15 moves shall we see whether that chieftainship too is stabilised in the Nkula branch. There is the possibility, mentioned earlier, that Nkolemfumu may then try to obtain the Chikwanda. But I imagine that the Nkula branch will try to hang on to this big post, just as they preserved the Nkula in their branch in spite of Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5's claim. If they do the split between the two branches of the clan will be still further emphasised.

It is said sometimes that Nkula had the right to appoint all the chiefs on the east side of the Chambeshi. This is wrong, but what is clear is that Nkula had to be consulted in their appointment, for the Chambeshi river was something of a political and religious boundary to Lubemba, with Nkula as the biggest power to the east. Of recent years many of the chiefs there have been related to Nkula's branch, for instance Chikwanda, Mubanga and Mukwikile, but they have not always been in the past and will not be in the future. What has happened is that Nkula has not had the power to interrupt any normal succession, but whenever possible he has been able to put his own sons into non-routine appointments east of the Chambeshi in the same way that Chitimukulu and Mwamba have done with their sons. The difference is that Nkula's appointments seem to be restricted to the east of the Chambeshi whereas Chitimukulu and Mwamba have had the whole of Bemba area at their disposal. Only recently Nkula D14 has sent his son to be regent for the aged Lukaka. An appointment that is as valid as any since the Lukaka is not a well established separate line.

Section 3.—THE LINE OF THE THIRD BRANCH OF THE CLAN CHIEF SHIMUMBI.

If my historical reasons are valid only two branches of the clan can claim by precedent a connection with the succession to the Paramountcy, and, strictly speaking, this branch now headed by Chief Shimumbi D18 should have been dealt with under Section 5, as merely one of several royal lines. But of recent years this branch of the clan has been exerting a claim to be classed with the two main branches. A claim that has never before been granted to any other junior branch and one that is causing so much discussion at the moment that I thought it best to give it a separate section and add a few more notes to the full enquiry given in Section 1.

The present Chief Shimumbi (Njoko) D18 is the fourth to hold the title but he is no relation to the former holders. These earlier chiefs were descended from a woman said to be a junior cousin of Kanyanta Bwalya A4 and form an example of a third branch being " too far away " to come into Paramountcy line. This branch had a line of its own and its leading chief was Shilukamba Chikwanda. When he died Chitimukulu Bwembia A6 agreed to Chikwanda C6 his nephew taking the *babenye*. But the line still went on through Shilukamba's sister and it held three small chieftainships of Shimumbi, Kalulu and Chibanda.

The last Shimumbi III Mwambamuchele died about 1929 but he was not succeeded by any of his relatives. The Paramount wanted a chieftainship for his nearer cousins so he put in Njoko D18 as Shimumbi IV and at the same time he deprived Kalulu and Chibanda of chiefly rights. The survivors of this branch of the clan still look to Chitimukulu Bwembia A6 as their uncle, although the real position of the mother of the house and her relationship to Kanyanta Bwalya A4 are very obscure.

This history of the earlier clan which was cut off, although headed by a royal sister, is but one of many such occurrences which tend to prove the theory that there is a stop in the horizontal line after two fertile branches.

So Njoko D18 became Shimumbi IV. This man was the son of Mushimba C11 who was sister to Chitimukulu Ponde C10. Shimumbi D18 has one brother, Kafyama D20, and he should succeed Shimumbi if the third branch of clan is cut out of the line to the Paramountcy. If this third branch of the clan is perpetuated as a separate chieftainship then Kafyama D20 would be followed by his nephew Mutali E22, son of the elder sister Mutali D21. If the third branch of the family is allowed to enter the line to the Paramountcy then Kafyama D20 will get a post at the first death (as described earlier) without having to wait for his brother's stool. This will be Mpepo, the lowest post, which will be vacated by a general move up. Kafyama D20 is in the peculiar position at the moment of being the only royal man of his generation without a chieftainship, but as families increase and if the number of chieftainships is reduced there will be many younger sons left with their ambitions unrealised in the future.

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622 This is sorry comfort for Kafyama D20 now for he is a pushing, aggressive character. He has great influence over the Paramount and only in 1942 when the Mpepo was vacant he bullied the Paramount into nominating him, tentatively, as Mpepo over the head of the rightful heir. Mwamba D3 objected and later two of the Paramount's councillors confessed that it was only Kafyama's insatiable ambitions that had worn down Chitimukulu D1. The Superior Authority finally vetoed the appointment but Kafyama D20 still hangs about the Court, waiting for any chance that might occur of enhancing his prestige. I have no doubt that he is the man most responsible for the active propaganda on behalf of the entry of the third branch of the clan into the main line. I think his own premature attempt to gain the Mpepo was but a part of a general family intrigue to make sure that the line is not passed over. To this end also the name of the mother, Mushimba C1 was made into an hereditary title and a recent occurrence described in the last section, very nearly succeeded in gaining the Mukukamfumu for a woman of this house. The success or otherwise of this campaign is very important because, whatever happens, the choice of the next chief will leave its mark on Bemba royal succession for many generations.

Section 4.—THE LINE OF THE ELDEST SON OF THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF MAKASA.

I have headed this section as above because it is the simplest way of indicating that the holder of the Makasa is thus so regarded, although he may not be the actual son of any chief who has been Paramount. He is the most senior son of all the chiefs of the royal clan. The holder of this post has an important part to play in the inheritance ceremonies of a Paramount. He goes over to the capital as soon as the body of the chief starts its journey to the burial grave at Mwalule and he stays in command of the capital until the new Paramount is appointed. He has to make the culminating remark acknowledging that the proposed Chitimukulu is his "father" and therefore the right man to succeed. It is said that his power at the appointment is greater than that of the *Bakabilo* (hereditary councillors). That is why he is known as the eldest son, and there have been attempts in the past by prospective claimants to the Paramountcy to get in a family member as Makasa ahead of succession, so that the claimant's way may be smoothed. 622 643 644

All the sons of chiefs who hold appointment naturally trace their descent through their fathers. The line to the Paramountcy and other royal chieftainships is through royal women. With the sons it is the other way about—they are from a royal father. The sons are not then of royal blood—*beneng'andu*. 622 644

In the Makasa succession, as in the main lines, the genealogical table is read across from left to right and the most senior son of the most senior father is taken as Makasa.

It has happened that only sons of Chitimukulu's, Mwamba's and Nkulas' have ever held the post, but even such a narrow limit has given scope for intrigue. The last Makasa of the old lineage was a son of a Chitimukulu. In the present lineage the first was a son of Chitimukulu Chileshe A2. Then came a son of Chitimukulu Bwembya A6. Then in succession came two sons of Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 who jumped his sons over the heads of several senior claimants. But when he died, after his career of upsetting most traditions of succession, the Makasa succession went back to a more senior line again and another son of Chitimukulu Chileshe A2 got the post. Following him came Musanya the son of Nkula Shichansa C3 and then Ndakala the son of Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2. This last Makasa, the seventh of the present lineage died in 1939. 613 622 644

The rule of succession sounds simple, but actually power politics and personal choice have great sway in the appointment of the sons of chiefs. For example, the most senior son living to-day is Tungati the son of Mwamba Kapalaula B3. He is also senior to the Makasa who died in 1939. This latter man was Ndakala the son of Nkula Shichansa C3, and he got the post ahead of Tungati. The reasons appear to be that he was already Mubanga which was usually considered the stepping stone to the Makasa and that Tungati who was then Luali hoped for the wealthier post of Mporokoso.

613 622 644 When Makasa Ndakala died in 1939 Tungati was still alive but too old now to worry about moving to claim his rightful post. The next senior son was Luchembe the son of Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2 but he was not nominated because he was half mad. The next sons were Lukaka and Muchereka also sons of Chipoya C2. They also were old and refused to move from their places in Mpika and Luwingu. So the next choice was the last son of Chipoya C2 who was then Chief Misengo.

But whilst all this discussion had been going on in 1939, Nkula D14 had been pressing the claims of Mubanga, who was nephew to the deceased Makasa and was also of the house of Nkula. Mubanga actually went to Makasa and inherited, or rather tried to. But when he attempted to " take [789] the death off " the senior wife of the deceased, her body by magical means was turned round so that her feet appeared on the pillow instead of her head. This went on for some time and Mubanga was finally persuaded that the spirits disapproved his claim to be Makasa so he went back to his Mubanga post. The rightful heir, Misengo, took over and this time the spirits concurred.

This was an attempt of the Nkula branch of the clan to pack the gallery in its own favour. The members obviously thought that if the Makasa was a son of their branch he would influence the next choice of the Paramount in Nkula D14's favour. At the inheritance ceremonies he might use his power and point to Nkula D14 as " his father " and therefore Paramount. Another fact that encouraged their belief that Mubanga should succeed Makasa was that the Mubanga (or Lombe) is usually considered the stepping stone to the Makasa. It was in the past sometimes, and actually it should be for the next appointment. But after that the grading of salaries will probably make the Mubanga no longer a post worth arguing about.

622 644 The present Makasa, as we have said, is the youngest son of Chipoya C2. The next senior son is the present Mubanga Lombe who tried to usurp the post one promotion ahead of his time in 1939. After him comes Mukwikile the last son of Chitimukulu Ponde C10. (Ignoring the four old men already quoted.) After Mukwikile the descent drops to the sons of the reigning Chitimukulu D1. The eldest available son of Chitimukulu D1 (the eldest in age is a simpleton) is Chief Mporokoso and he will not leave that post for Mubanga, and it may be doubted whether he would become Makasa, although that post does carry more honour. But the Makasa does not carry such a big salary as Mporokoso.

Next come Chisangaponde, Chipalo and Menga, and they, if tradition had been followed, should have been offered the Mubanga in 1939 in turn if Mukwikile did not take it. But when Mubanga made his ill-fated attempt to inherit Makasa, the vacant post of Mubanga was not even offered to Mukwikile as it should have been. What happened was that Chitimukulu D1 and Mwamba D3 had an argument. Quite a frequent occurrence. Chitimukulu D1 had earlier broken an old tradition by sending one of his sons to be Mporokoso instead of allowing Mwamba D3 to send of of his (see later). So Mwamba D3 now claimed the right to send one of his sons to Chitimukulu's side of the country. Chitimukulu D1 agreed and allowed Mwamba D3 to appoint a Mubanga. Mwamba D3 sent his eldest son who was at the time holding a minor post as Lwali in Mporokoso. (On the recommendation of the Superior Native Authority this petty post of Lwali was then abolished.) When the spirits decided that Ponde C10's son was the wrong man this young Lwali Mwamba left his newly acquired post of Mubanga and became

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Misengo, a post vacated by that chief becoming Makasa. Chief Mukwikile should have been offered the Mubanga, and that he was not is due to the reasons mentioned above, and is also perhaps an example of another tendency we must note—that reigning chiefs always push their own sons at the expense of the sons of deceased chiefs. This is not a bad proceeding sometimes from the point of view of Government as it tends to foster the appointment of younger men.

Enough has been said to indicate how the Makasa is inherited and that in future whether the descent follows tradition depends upon whether the post carries a bigger salary than the heir is getting. It has much honour attached to it which may weight the scale on borderline cases.

The descent at the time of writing is as follows : Makasa when he dies should be followed by Mubanga although Mubanga is older in years than Makasa and he may die first. Then should come Mukwikile. Then follow the sons of Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1. They at the time of writing hold the following posts : Mporokoso, Chisangaponde, Chipalo, Menga. If none of these want the post then the line goes to the sons of the reigning Mwamba D3—Munkonge and Misengo. So goes the succession by tradition, but should Chitimukulu and Council wish to push younger men at the expense of sons of deceased chiefs such acts have historical justification.

An important point to remember about tracing the correct succession through the sons is that the senior son following Makasa does not always bear the same name. For instance, the two senior men now are Tungati and Muchereka but when they die it is most probable that they will be replaced by young sons of reigning chiefs and the chieftainships of Muchereka and Tungati may thus change from being senior to being very junior.

The table of the sons at the end shows their succession and the seniority.

Section 5.—OTHER ROYAL CHIEFS.

565 622 The sons of the sisters of royal chiefs are, of course, all royal—*benang'andu*—themselves. And scattered throughout Bemba area are several chieftainships held by men of royal blood but who are only vaguely connected with the present reigning families. These are Chimbola, Mfungo, Nkweto and Mwaba. In the past there were many more, all descended from young royal sisters but none of them, for various reasons discussed earlier, being allowed to enter into the main succession.

The succession in all lines is simple. Each is a self-contained family following a direct matrilineal line, the chief being succeeded normally by brothers or maternal nephews. It is necessary to say briefly how these families obtained their posts as abolition of minor chiefs is a Superior Native Authority policy, and their importance may decide their fate.

Chimbola.

613 622 I have already dealt at length with this chieftainship which is the relic of an earlier Paramount lineage. Some people thus refer to it as more senior than the present lineage. It is, of course, in point of age but its importance has lapsed. It is an ever-present example of how the different branches of the clan do sometimes successfully cast each other from the long possession of good posts. All that need be said of it now is that should any amalgamation of small chiefs take place in this area, Chimbola should be regarded as senior or more important than Chisangaponde, Mfungo, Fwangila or Changala.

Mfungo.

This line is of an unimportant scion of the Chimbola branch. It comprises a separate little line of its own with a mother of very vague descent but who is distinct from the more senior mother of Chimbola although both date from the old lineage. Although the appointment was in the hands of Chitimukulu he always kept the post to its own little line. The present Mfungo is grandson to the last one. The post has already been reduced to that of a village headman. There has been trouble recently between Mfungo and Chisangaponde because the latter has retained his chieftainship and Mfungo, of the royal family, has not. Mfungo's area was absorbed by Chisangaponde. Mfungo's people have assaulted Chisangaponde's Kapasu on several occasions and perhaps Mfungo's area should have been absorbed in that of another royal chief and not in Chisangaponde's. The disputes have been going on now for several years and perhaps will only stop when Mfungo is put under another royal chief.

Nkweto.

This chief is also a *mwinang'andu* and is descended from a royal chief's sister. The first Nkweto was son of Mumbi, a young sister of Chitimukulu Katongo we Chinga, a Paramount of the old lineage. Her descendants were too far away to the right of the genealogical table to succeed to any of the main chieftainships, and they have therefore kept the line to themselves, following a true matrilineal descent. Nkweto's are succeeded by their brothers or nephews. Nkweto could be abolished as a chieftainship but geographical conditions may demand his retention.

Mwaba.

Also a *mwinang'andu* descended from Kapolyo Chibamba, a young sister of Chitimukulu Chibamba Mwase, another Paramount of the old lineage. There is a story that a Mwaba was once due to succeed a Chitimukulu but that he was away hunting when the couriers went for him. His mother sent the couriers back saying that Chitimukulus died too quickly and she would keep her sons at home. Since then the line has kept far from the main succession and descent has been separate and direct through the brothers and nephews. There was one interruption. Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 killed a Mwaba and put in a nephew of his own. But this nephew became Nkula Shichansa C3 and the succession went back to the Kapolyo family. 613. 622.

This is a minor chieftainship and could be abolished on the death of the present holder. Nkula should take over the area.

Section 6.—SONS OF ROYAL CHIEFS.

565 I have dealt with the most senior son—Makasa, and how the line of all the sons of chiefs leads up to this one chieftainship. But not all sons get
622 chieftainships as there are not enough posts to go round, so favouritism as
624 well as ability are factors in these appointments. It does not matter whether a son is born of the head wife or of any other wife. There seems to be a vague system of training sons and discovering the more efficient ones. As the sons grow up into youths they are given sections of the chief's village (*fitente*) to look after. Then as they pass to manhood the better ones are made village headmen. So when a chief's appointment comes vacant there is some indication of the abilities of the sons.

557 I give a table of sons holding posts.[1] This shows their seniority, but
622 not their status which in most cases cannot be assessed. As the table shows, not all sons hold posts and it is not always the older sons who get them. They may be passed over in favour of younger sons, and once passed over it is unlikely that they will get a post in the future. Names, as usual, mean nothing. A son takes the seniority of his father, but as I tell now, such seniority may get him nowhere, for the following tendencies and facts affect the succession of sons of chiefs :

(*a*) In addition to Chitimukulu and Mwamba only Nkula and Makasa seem to have had the power to creat chieftainships for their sons and to appoint successors.

(*b*) There was and still is a tendency for the reigning chiefs to push their own sons at the expense of the sons of dead chiefs although the latter are most probably senior. This tendency perhaps Government should support as it leads to the appointment of younger men.

(*c*) In the past, the sons of Chitimukulu were given the eastern chieftainships—Chisangaponde, Mukwikile, Mubanga and Makasa. The sons of Mwamba went to the west—Mporokoso, Sunkutu, Lwali, Chipalo, Tungati, Muchereka, Munkonge, Misengo, Kasonka, Luchembe, Lukaka. The sons of Nkula kept to the east of Chambeshi.

I want now to discuss these three tendencies in detail.

(*a*) Appointment of Sons.

I have discussed in Section 2 the powers of Nkula in connection with the appointment of his sons. The most recent evidence of them is in the appointment of his son as regent to Lukaka. The first Lukaka was allied to the old defunct Shimumbi line for he was a son of Shilukamba Chikwanda the founder of that temporary branch of chieftainship. The second Lukaka was son of Chitimukulu Chikwanda C6 and this son is alive to-day. He is very old and the appointment of a son of the present Nkula D14 as regent is quite valid. The Lukaka is in the area of Nkula's influence and is not

[1] [cat. 116, pp. [52-53]. —Analyst]

established either as a separate line contained in itself or in the line of promotion to other chieftainships. It may be a redundant chieftainship as it has not had much genealogical continuity. 557 622

Makasa once had seven appointments in his hands. Four of them were in Mambwe country and have already been abolished so we need not worry about them. He still has three—Changala, Chilangwa and Fwangila. These form a little line of their own, each one moving up as one dies and the lowest post, Fwangila, is filled by the son of the most senior Makasa, living or dead, in the usual way. These three are sometimes *lumbwe* (a man who marries either a royal chief's daughter or a royal chief's sister). The late Changala was husband to Mukukamfumu Mandeehanda C5 and is father of Nkula D14 and Chikwanda D15 and two daughters. The late Chilangwa too was married to a daughter of Mwamba. None of the three at the moment are *lumbwe*. No more need be said about this line except to say that it is ripe for abolition. By tradition the chief's areas should be merged with that of their father Makasa but geography may demand that one or more go to Chimbola. Kaliminwa is also connected with Makasa since he is usually Chilangwa's son, therefore grandson to Makasa (see later).

In the past, a daughter of Chitimukulu, called Namponda, had an area in the Abercorn district and Makasa always appointed one of his sons as *lumbwe* to her.

This brief outline of the power once possessed by Makasa as an appointer of chiefs shows how his importance in this respect has gradually become less.

A newcomer on the scene as the appointer of other chiefs was Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5. He appointed or perhaps pressed the appointment of his own son as Masongo. But this is quite a new proceeding and was perhaps solely due to the personal influence of the Nkolemfumu. Never before in this lineage had an Nkolemfumu succeeded in getting a son appointed to a chieftainship. The previous Masongo was son of Mwamba Mubanga C2 and the one before that a son of Chitimukulu. Masongo is one of the smaller, unimportant chieftainships and may not last.

(*b*) Sons of Reigning Chiefs.

About this subject, little need be said. A glance at the table will show that there are many sons of royal chiefs who have never obtained posts, and those who are left as sons of an earlier generation are never likely to become chiefs now. We can see the tendency of reigning chiefs to push their own sons at the expense of those of dead chiefs working in many appointments. The latest one was the sending of Mwamba D3's son Lwali to be Mubanga ahead of Mukwikile although, as told later, there was another reason attached. As a Chitimukulu or Mwamba dies his sons often stay where they are without any further promotion. The present Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 has about fourteen sons and four of them already have posts. Of Mwamba V D3's four sons two have posts, but with the abolition of the Sunkutu there are two left without posts. Should then both Chitimukulu D1 and Mwamba D3 both die shortly, they will leave between them at least twelve sons without posts. It will be interesting to see how they will fare against the claims of the many sons of Nkolemfumu D6 and Mpepo D10. I think Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5's one son without a post is already out of the running as he is old.

(c) Territorial Traditions.

557 ●622 643 This guiding rule of east and west appointments has also broken down, but only of recent years, and there are only three instances of it so far. Mporokoso is the senior of all posts traditionally in the hands of Mwamba. It differs from Makasa in that the Makasa can be held by the senior son whether he was son of Chitimukulu or Mwamba or Nkula. But in the Mporokoso succession only the sons of Mwambas were considered in the past. So that when an Mporokoso died in 1933, the line of heirs ran as follows: Tungati, Luchembe, Lukaka and Misengo (now Makasa). But Chitimukulu D1 appointed his eldest son Chisangaponde. He was thus pressing his own son at the expense of the sons of dead chiefs and also breaking the rule of direction for the first time. In return in 1939 Mwamba claimed the Mubanga for Lwali as we have said. The high salary of Mporokoso no doubt affected Chitimukulu's desire to put his son in the post. The third instance is the history of the son of Chitimukulu who is now Chipalo. When the minor post of Kasonka became vacant by that man becoming Chisangaponde, a son of the present Chitimukulu D1 called Sampa, was put in. When Chipalo died in 1937, Kasonka Sampa was made Chipalo and the Superior Native Authority took the opportunity of deleting the Kasonka as a chieftainship.

It seems from these three modern instances that the old rule of direction is being abandoned and I see no point in laying any emphasis on it in the future. It is obvious that salaries will have a greater influence on appointments in the future and I think the appointments of such sons as are left, after a campaign of amalgamation, can be trusted to Chitimukulu and Mwamba and the councillors. If there is quarrelling then the above list of control of appointments may be useful. Why Mwamba should have had a longer list of appointments than Chitimukulu I can only surmise. Of course, when the Mwamba becomes Chitimukulu he often finds his sons holding posts whose future succession is in the hands of another Mwamba so the distinction is not really important. I have already described how various Mwambas were noted warriors and when an area had been conquered from another tribe it was natural for the victorious Mwamba to put in one of his own sons to hold it. Mwambas such as Kapalsula B3 and Mubanga Chipoya C2 were certainly better fighters than many Paramounts and that is perhaps why their influence spread rapidly and they were able to appoint so many sons to newly won areas.

(d) Further Individual Details.

Before leaving this Section, I should give a little more information about some chieftainships.

The death of Mporokoso will lead to a good deal of discussion. In the past, the Sunkutu was considered the stepping-stone to the Mporokoso but the post was abolished with the death of the last Sunkutu. Chitimukulu D1 sent his son Chisangaponde II to be Mporokoso but Mwamba D3 sent a son to become Sunkutu. He is now a village headman but the Council obviously intend to keep the name as a stepping-stone. If then the Chitimukulu of the day keeps the appointment to the post he may try to put his own son in as at present. The more senior sons of a Chitimukulu, such as Chipalo, may claim it. On the other hand, if Mwamba claims the appointment, as in the past, the present Munkonge and Misengo and Sunkutu enter the lists. These are present-day claimants but if Mporokoso goes on

for a long time, as he probably will, then the sons of future Chitimukulus or Mwambas may be old enough to claim as well as Sunkutu and the others mentioned. In any case, I think there will be a dispute over his succession with Sunkutu and nominees of Chitimukulu and Mwamba, both past and present, all claiming. With precedents for the appointment of sons of either Chitimukulu or Mwamba or of Sunkutu alone the case will clearly be one when Government will be able to step in and choose the best man available from the claimants. The Mporokoso is now ranked fourth in salary among all Bemba chiefs both royal and otherwise. This status and importance is based on the large size of his area and population and corresponds with his traditional place in the heirarchy. It is thus a most important chieftainship from territorial and political viewpoints. The area is one of the most remote from central Lubemba and was conquered from the Lungu and Tabwa by Mwamba Kapalaula B3. It was essential to have a strong man to look after such a large outlying area so Kapalaula B3 put in a son Chinga who soon successfully killed off all opposition. When he died he was followed by Lombe, another son of Mwamba Kapalaula B3 and this man took the title of Mporokoso (he who cuts off ears—of enemies). Kapalaula B3 was a most fertile father and after Lombe there followed three more of his sons, each succeeding the other. These were Katuna, Mushidi and Sunkutu I and they were respectively Mporokoso II, III, IV. Then the sequence was broken, as described earlier, by Chitimukulu D1 sending his son to be Mporokoso V. He is the fifth of that name although the area has had six rulers. 622

The most recent of the chieftainships of sons is that of Chisangaponde. The first was Chisanga, son of the Chitimukulu Ponde C10. He was given an area by his father. When Makasa died about 1922, the Mubanga of the day moved up and then Chisangaponde I become Mubanga and he is still there to-day. I discussed earlier his attempt in 1940 to become Makasa. When he became Mubanga he was followed by Chief Kasonka who was promoted to be Chisangaponde II. This man is a son of the present Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 and when Mporokoso died in 1933 Chisangaponde II took that post. Another son, who had no previous post, then became Chisangaponde III.

In any amalgamation in this area Chisangaponde must be regarded as much junior and lower in status than Chimbola.

Tungati is the third of the name and he is very old now. The first was son of Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 and the second and third both sons of Mwamba Kapalaula B3.

Luchembe is the first of that name. He took over the area when it was conquered from the Bisa, and he is now very old.

Muchereka is only the second of the name. The first was a son of Mwamba wa Kabwe of the old lineage.

Chipalo is the second of the name. The first was the son of Mwamba I Mutale Mulenga A4.

Munkonge is the fourth of the line. The first was the son of Mwamba Kashampupo of the old lineage. The second was the son of Mwamba Kapalaula B3 and the third a son of Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4.

622 Mukwikile is the third of the name. The first was the son of Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 and the second was a son of Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2.

The above few historical details give some indication of the age and traditions of the smaller chieftainships of the sons and their status might be gauged from the seniority of the father of the first of the name. But this is a very vague proceeding and their modern status and value to the Native Authority, which can be seen from the list of salaries in the Appendix, is much more important now than obscure genealogical seniority. This latter factor is still important in the royal lines but as regards the sons I think the size of area and population, upon which the salaries are roughly based, can be considered more than traditional status in any re-organisation.

Section 7.—OTHER CHIEFS.

The following chiefs do not fit into particular branch of the heirarchy and deserve a special section. 622

(a) Chief Shimwalule.

I have dealt at length with this man in a published work (6). He is undertaker to the Royal Chiefs and perhaps should not be ranked as a chief himself. The succession is through members of the *Besa* totem and the line is disjointed as well as distinct. I need say little more here. Shimwalule should retain a salary as undertaker and priest to the royal chiefs and his area could be administered by Nkweto. 622 767

In the past a Shimwalule could only bury one Paramount although he was allowed to bury any number of the other few chiefs eligible to rest in the grove at Mwaule. He usually retired when a Paramount died after he had already buried one but there was such competition for this once valuable post that many Shimwalules were killed off by other claimants. But a tendency is now appearing for the Shimwalule to become more permanent. The last one buried Paramount Chikwanda C6 and then later showed himself willing to bury another one, Ponde C10. But he died mysteriously after receiving the body of Ponde C10 at the Chambeshi river. The present Shimwalule luckly happened (!) to be close by and he took over the ceremony. In spite of this unfortunate death the Shimwalule at the moment seems to be willing to take a risk and try to bury his second Paramount, Kanyanta D1. For he has not yet retired from his post and there is talk that the old custom may lapse.

(b) Chief Kabwibwi.

When Chileshe Chepela A2 was born with his shortened and deformed arm his mother refused to give him milk and a foster mother was found. Later, when Chileshe A2 became Paramount he made the son of his foster mother into Chief Kabwibwi and gave him a country. Descent is direct through the brothers and nephews and is another of the self contained lines. But there is a particular link with the Paramount for Kabwibwi gives one of his daughters to Chitimukulu as a wife and Chitimukulu sends one of his daughters to be a wife of Kabwibwi. 622

(c) Chief Kaliminwa.

This chief is a *lumbwe* who is always married to a daughter of Mwamba. She is known as Nakabwe and marries the commoner whom Government deal with as Chief Kaliminwa. The first Kaliminwa was an ordinary man with no connection with any chief. The second, Mutale, was his nephew who was son to Chilangwa, Chilangwa having married Kaliminwa's sister. The third, still living to-day, is also a son of Chilangwa and it is said that the tradition is now established that Kaliminwa must be a son of Chilangwa.

When a Nakabwe dies Mwamba sends another daughter, and when in the late 1930's he could only send a young girl the elder wives objected to such a young head wife and they left Kaliminwa in disgust. But they soon returned.

622 Mporokoso's area adjoins Kaliminwa and there has often been friction between the two chiefs. Kaliminwa's area is rich in elephants but a *lumbwe* was not allowed to keep the tusks. He had to send them to Mwamba. The Kaliminwa who died in 1934 had quarelled often with Mporokoso and always refused to send him elephant meat. So Mporokoso asked the Paramount not to send a *lumbwe* to inherit but to send a proper chief with whom he could get on well. The Paramount broke traditions and sent Musenga D6 who was then Mpepo. The Kaliminwa's salary is higher than the Mpepo. There was a good deal of tribal argument and eventually Mpepo D6 had to return and a *lumbwe* again took the post. It was said that a *mwinang'andu* should not take an area that is not and never had been royal. Had a son been sent he would probably have been allowed to stay.

(*d*) Chief Musanya.

A very odd chieftainship that does not seem to have any claims for survival. The first Musanya was a son of a Chewe (the chieftainship of the old house of Nkula now abolished). This Musanya was sent to his present area to look after the " Banyika " (people of the plains). He was suceeded by his cousin who was a son of Chitimukulu Chileshe A2, and this son later became Mubanga and finally Makasa. He was succeeded by his son who is thus the third Musanya and is still alive to-day. He should be the last of this line and the area should be taken by Nkweto.

(*e*) Chief Menga.

Another odd chieftainship that does not fall in with any of the main sections. It was the last of all existing chieftainships to be created. Menga I was the youngest brother of the present Chitimukulu by name Mbonkali D5. The chieftainship was made for him and he later became Mpepo and then Nkolemfumu. He was of course of royal blood—*mwinang'andu*. But when he left to become Mpepo he was succeeded by Chief Kasonka, son of Mwamba Chileshe wa Milenge of the old lineage. This Kasonka had become a very minor chieftainship in Luwingu so it was promotion to become Menga II. He was old when moved to his new post and died in 1937. Again there was no continuity in the post for Chitimukulu D1 this time put one of his sons in as Menga III who is there to-day.

Such a chieftainship with no continuity to guide succession and with a very small area could cease to be recognised.

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3. One early history is given by Father Labrecque in " La Tribu des Babemba I " Anthropos. Vol. 28, 1933.

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5. Coxhead has some interesting remarks on the Chitimukulu and Mwamba relationship in—" The Native Tribes of N.E. Rhodesia." Occasional Paper No. 5. Royal Anthropological Institute, 1912.

6. W. V. Brelsford—" Shimwalule : Study of a Bemba Chief and Priest." African Studies. September, 1942.

APPENDIX.

For ease of reference I give below the complete list of Bemba chieftainships as gazetted by Government at the moment, and also the salaries they draw from the Bemba Treasury. Those in brackets have been mentioned in this paper but have been deleted as chieftainships.

It is not possible to give a complete list in order of status, with the exception of the first three chiefs who definitely are, in order, Chitimukulu, Mwamba and Nkula.

In actual honour all *benang'andu* would follow before the sons. Makasa is the first of the sons. But in fact, apart from the first three royal chiefs, it is difficult to say whether any more chiefs can be ranked at all permanently by name according to status. A temporary list might be prepared for the *benang'andu* but any deaths might alter it. The sons might be arranged in order of seniority from the age of their fathers but that too would be altered by deaths, and moreover the sons, apart from Makasa, are not traditionally graded in honour at all. Their salaries should thus go with their population and work.

I put in this note as sometimes Chitimukulu is asked, for Treasury purposes, for a list of chiefs in order of status. It has differed every time, and, apart from the first three, it cannot really be given.

Kasama District.

	£		£
Chitimukulu	140	Menga	10
Mwamba	84	Misengo	8
Nkolemfumu	24	Changala	10
Makasa	30	Chilangwa	8
Chimbola	10	Chisangaponde ...	6
Munkonge	30	(Mfungo)	3
Kabwibwi	10		

Chinsali District.

	£
Nkula	48
Mubanga	14
Mukwikile	8
Shimwalule	8
Nkweto	8
Mwaba	6
Musanya	6

Mpika District.

	£
Chikwanda ...	30
Mpepo	15
Luchembe	9
Masongo	8
Lukaka	8

Luwingu District.

	£
Shimumbi	18
Chipalo	18
Tungati	18
Muchereka	12
(Kasonka)	—

Mporokoso District.

	£
Mporokoso	42
Kaliminwa ...	24
(Sunkutu)	6

Kawambwa District.

	£
(Lwali)	—

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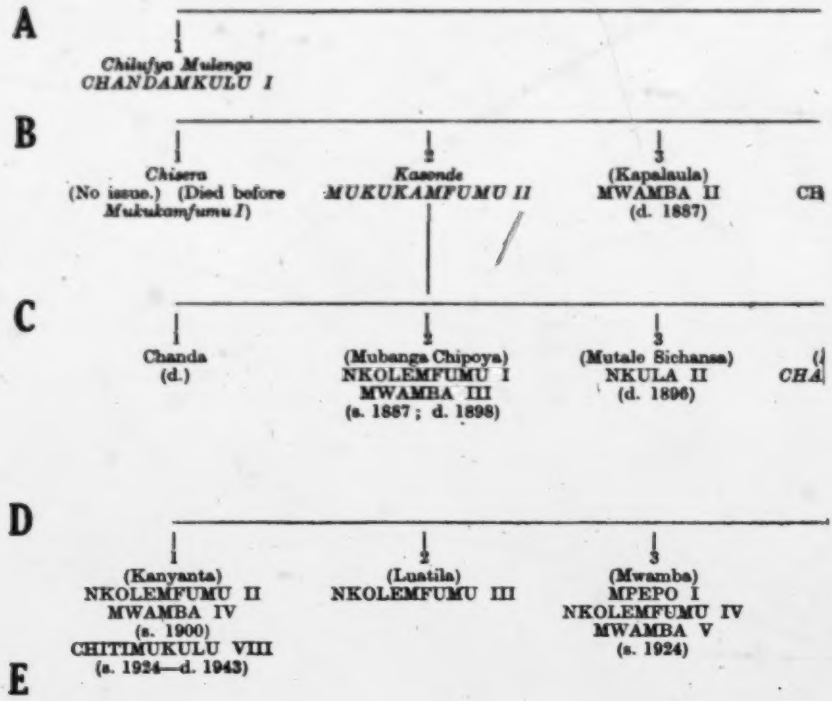

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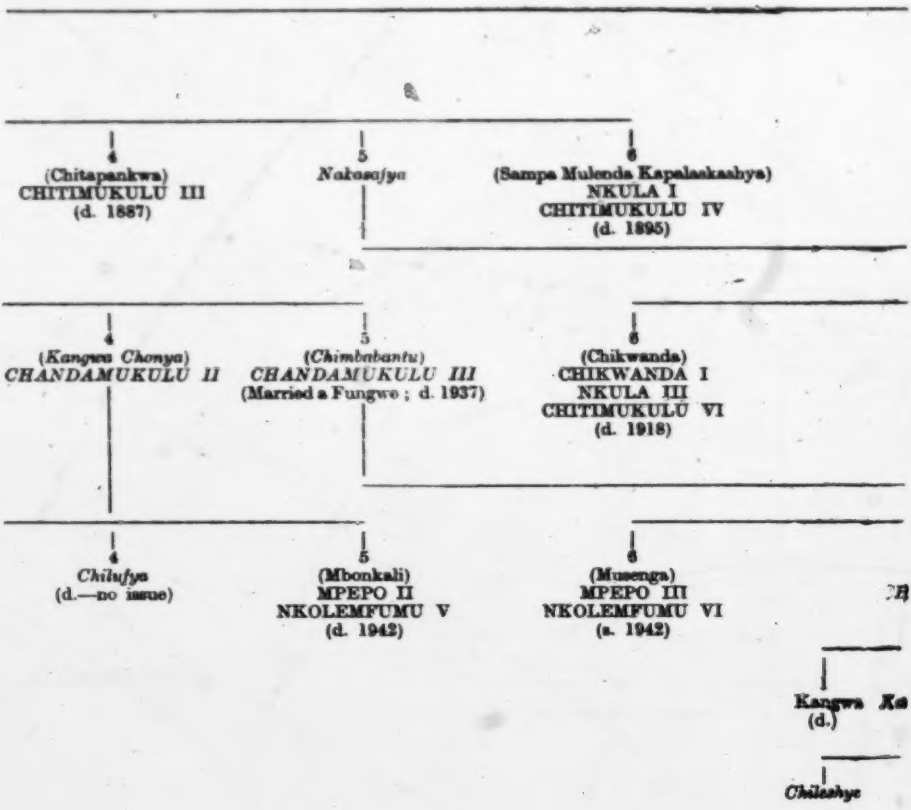

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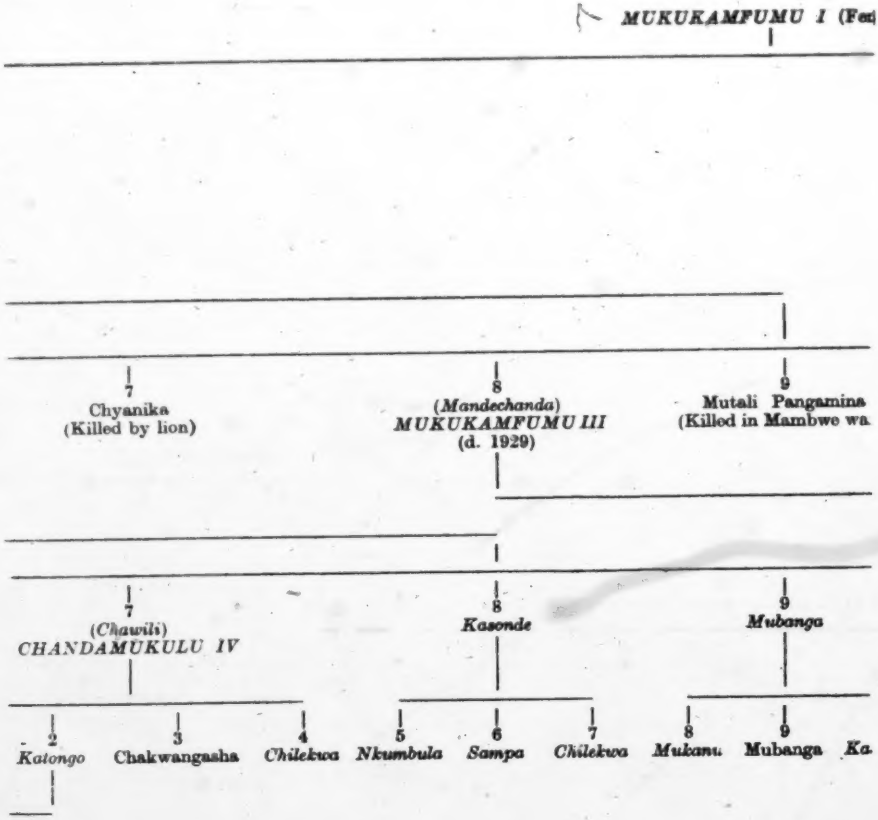
THE BEMBA

the Bemba Royal House showing the issue th



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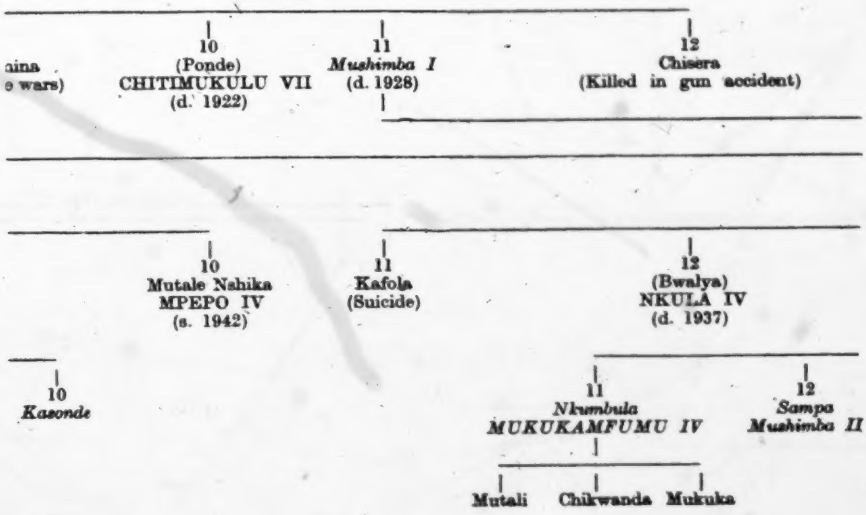
BA CHIEFTAINSHIPS OF THE PARAMO

through the female line (in Italic.) Chi

(Female.)



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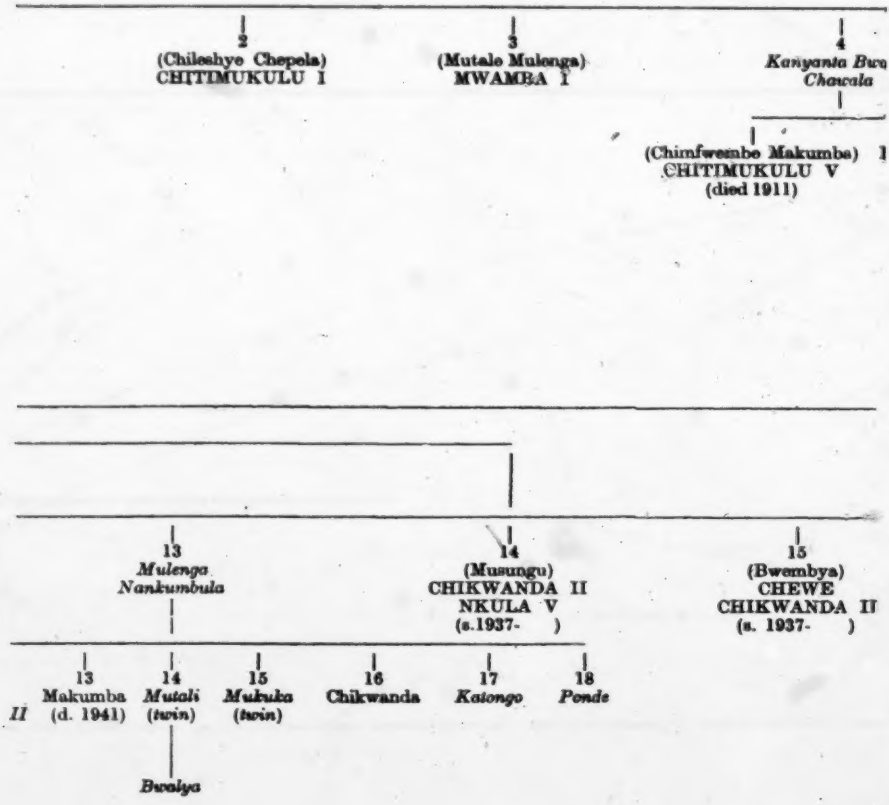

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own. See next table.

Bwalya
ala

5
Kalulu
(died before A2 and A3)

6
(Bwembya Chinyamasako)
CHITIMUKULU II

) Mulenga
(died)

III
)

16
Sampa

17
Mutali
(died—no issue)

18
(Bwembya Njoko)
SHIMUMBI IV

19
Chisoa Mu
(d. 1941)

19 Chikwanda
20 *Chileshye*
21 Chisanga

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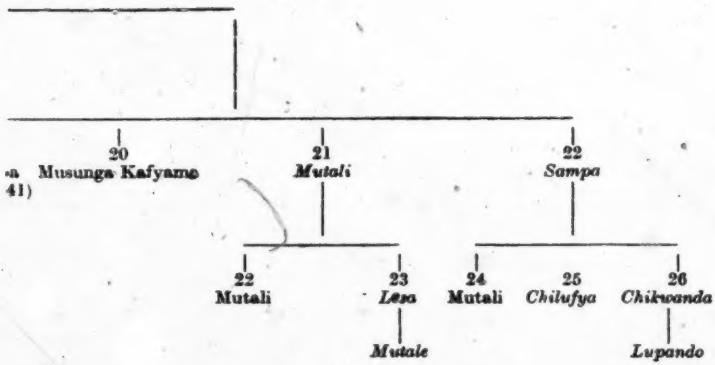
A

B

C

D

E



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6: Brelsford G-5 (ca. 1940) 1944 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

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Let

B

3
MWAMBA II
Kapalaula
|
TUNGATI III

C

2
MWAMBA III
Mubanga Chipoya
|
LUCHEMBE I MUCHELEKA II MAKASA
(Formerly MISENGO I)
(Also several other living sons who did not get posts and one who died as Masongo.)

6
CHITIMUKU
Chikwand
|
LUKAK
(Also two sons
posts aliv

D

1.
CHITIMUKULU VIII
Kanyanta
|
MPOROKOSO CHISANGAPONDE III MENGA III CHIPALO
(Formerly KASONKA (Formerly KAS
then CHISANGAPONDE II)
(Also about ten other sons without chieftainships.)

[A51]

6: Brelsford G-5 (ca. 1940)1944 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

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TABLE OF SONS OF CHIEFS.

Showing only Sons with posts in 1943.

Letters and numbers correspond with those of the main table.

10
CHITIMUKULU VII
Ponde

:ULU VI
anda

AKA
ns without
live.)

MUBANGA (Formerly CHISANGAPONDE I) (Also several living sons without posts.)

MUKWIKILE III

3
MWAMBA V

5
NKOLEMFUMU V
Mbonkali

NKOI

MUNKONGE IV

MISENGO II (Formerly LWALI)

SUNKUTU (Post abolished.) Muma, a teacher.

MASONGO (Also one son without a post.)

(Many s wi

O II
ASONKA) (Also one other son without a post.

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e.

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C

D

6	10	12	14
NKOLEMFUMU VI	MPEPO III	NKULA IV	NKULA V
Musenga	Mutali	Bwalya	Musunga
(Many sons alive. None with posts yet.)	(Only two sons to date.)	(Has sons alive but none with posts.)	(One son Regent to LUKAKA. Others with no post.)

[p.53]

7:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

A chief's village (*umusumba*) is very much larger than that of a commoner. Inhabitants of the capital are composed of relatives of the chief, his followers, and also a number of families which moved there originally to win royal favour and have become accustomed to court life.[1] Since a chief's reputation depends largely on the size of his capital, and his councillors, courtiers, and administrative officers were drawn largely from his villagers, the *umusumba* is an important unit in the political machine. The late Nkula's village had about 400 huts when I visited it in 1931, that of the Citimukulu 150 in 1938. The capitals of pre-European days were evidently very much larger. These communities were divided into sections (*ifitente*, sing. *icitente*) and though nowadays there are nine *ifitente* at the paramount's village, there were formerly thirty to forty, according to native accounts.

The whole Bemba territory is divided into districts (*ifyalo*, sing. *icalo*). The *icalo* is a geographical unit with a fixed boundary and a name dating from historical times, e.g. the district of the Citimukulu is known as Lubemba, the country of the Bemba, and that of Mwamba, Ituna. These districts are territories originally allotted to members of the royal family, but once so divided they have never been sub-divided to provide smaller chieftainships for a new generation of princes as has happened in some parts of South Africa.

But the *icalo* is also a political unit. It is the district ruled over by a chief with a fixed title—the name of the first ruler to be appointed over each particular strip of land, always a close relative of one of the earlier Citimukulus. There are several types of chief, the paramount, who has his own *icalo*, as well as being overlord of the whole Bemba territory; the territorial chiefs, five or more in number, who have under them sub-chiefs who may rule over very small tracts of country or, rather, over a few villages.[2]

Each of these chiefs is known by the same title *mfumu* and each *icalo* is a more or less self-contained unit, a replica of the social structure of the other. Each capital has its own court, however small. Each chief has rights over the labour of his own villages. They work for him only and not for the paramount as happens among

[1] The phrase '*umwino musumba*' ('inhabitant of the capital') is used to indicate a 'chief's man' or a person of specially polished manners and knowledge of affairs.

[2] Mwamba has as a sub-chief, the Munkonge, and the Nkula has Shimwalule, Mwaba, Mukuikile, Nkweto, &c.

7:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

the Zulu, Swazi and other tribes with the regiment system. The *icalo* is also a ritual unit. At each capital are the sacred relics (*babenye*) of the first holders of the chiefly title and their ancestral spirits are thought to act as tutelary deities of the district, and are worshipped at the *umusumba*, at village shrines, and old hut sites throughout the country, and are also commonly supposed to act as guardian spirits to children born within the *icalo*.[1] Naturally the ritual and political organization of the paramount's capital is more elaborate than that of his inferiors, but even the smallest sub-chief maintains his miniature court and tries to ape the state of those above him, while the bigger territorial chiefs sometimes rivalled the power of the Citimukulu in the old days.

The territorial chieftainships are arranged in order of precedence, according to their nearness to the centre of the country—Lubemba—and the antiquity of their office. To the most important of these chiefdoms—the Mwambaship, the Nkulaship, the Nkolemfumuship, and the Mpepoship, for instances—the Citimukulu appoints his nearest relatives, the one succeeding the other in order of seniority. Thus the present Citimukulu, Kanyanta, has acted in turn as the Nkolemfumu, and the Mwamba before succeeding to the paramountcy (cf. chart on p. 102). On the other hand, the sub-chieftainships have tended to become concentrated in local branches of the royal family, and the paramount's strong grip over the country and his intimate knowledge of affairs at the courts of his fellow chiefs is certainly weaker in these outlying districts than in the case of chiefdoms ruled by his close relatives.

To the commoner, membership of an *icalo* means his allegiance to the chief of that territory. He will describe himself as an inhabitant of a district, such as *Icinga*, i.e. *mwine Icinga* or, alternatively, as the subject of its chief, Nkula, i.e. *mwine Nkula*, and both terms are synonymous. He may move from village to village within the *icalo*, but he remains his chief's man. The latter, in his turn, reckons his assets, not in terms of the size of his territory or its natural resources, but rather by the number of his people and in particular the villages he has under his rule.

(3) *Rank.* Rank is a marked feature of Bemba society. It is based on kinship, real or fictitious, with the chief. All members of the royal crocodile clan (*Bena ŋandu*) are entitled to special respect, precedence on ritual and social occasions, and sometimes

[1] Hence the great preponderance of one or two birth-names in each district.

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continuity of the mother's line of ancestors which is the basis of legal identification with her descent group.[1] A royal princess might even produce an heir by a slave father in the old days without lowering her child's prestige. The relationship between brother and sister, which is a very close one, legally and ritually, is based on the fact that the two were born from one womb, and in the case of the royal family it appears to be equally strong when the two are children of different fathers. These theories of procreation account, not only for the matrilineal descent of the Bemba, on which succession to chieftainship is based, but also for the rank accorded to the royal princesses as mothers of chiefs, and the headmanships and other positions of authority given them.

The Bemba dogma as to the influence of the dead over the living is also of the utmost importance as a basis for political authority. The spirit of a dead man (*umupashi*, plur. *imipashi*) is thought to survive as a guardian presence associated with the land or village site formerly inhabited, and as a spiritual protector of different individuals born in the same lineage group and called by the same name. The *imipashi* of dead chiefs become tutelary deities of the land they ruled over, and responsible for its fertility and the welfare of its inhabitants. They can be approached by the successor to the chieftainship at various sacred spots in the territory and at the sacred relic shrines (*babenye*) in his own village. A chief is said to be powerful because he 'has great *imipashi*!' It is for this reason he is described as the *umwine calo*, 'owner of the land', and it is important to note that in every case the most important *imipàshi* and the most sacred relics are those of the first chiefs to enter the land, or the first occupants of a chieftainship.

This dogma as to the influence of the dead over the living inhabitants of a district, or the members of a descent group, is very similar to the general Bantu pattern. But the Bemba belief in the social identification between the dead man and his appointed successor seems to me to be particularly complete. It is the basis of the belief as to the supernatural influence exerted by the chief in his own person as distinct from his direct approach to the spirits

[1] The patrilineal tribes on the Nyassaland border consider the Bemba theory of procreation as entirely ridiculous. One Ngoni expressed his contempt, thus: 'If I have a bag and put money in it, the money belongs to me and not to the bag. But the Bemba say a man puts semen into a woman and yet the child belongs to her and not to him!'

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in prayer. When a man or woman dies, his or her social personality must be immediately perpetuated by a successor who passes through a special ritual (*ukupyanika*) and thus acquires the name, the symbols of succession (a bow for a man and a girdle for the woman), and the *umupashi* of the dead man. By this social identification, a man assumes the latter's position in the kinship-group, uses the same kinship terms and, in the case of a chief, it is almost impossible to tell when a man is describing incidents which took place in his own life or those of an ancestor two or three generations dead. So important is this social perpetuation of the dead considered that immediately after a death, before the successor has finally been appointed, a small boy or girl, usually a maternal grandchild, is chosen to inherit the name of the deceased temporarily (*ukunwa menshi*, 'to drink the water'). He or she is given some small piece of the latter's property and thereafter addressed as grandfather or grandmother, or whatever the right kinship term may be.

In the same way, a chief, once he has succeeded to the name, the spirit, and the sacred relics of his predecessor, has magic influence over the productive capacity of his whole territory. His ill health or death, his pleasure or displeasure, his blessings or curses, can affect the prosperity of the people, and even his sex life reacts on the state of the community.[1] For a chief to break a sex taboo is an act which may cause calamity to the whole people, and the rites by which he is purified after sexual contacts form one of the most important elements in the politico-religious ceremonial requiring the participation of thirty or forty hereditary officials (*bakabilo*) in the case of the paramount. Conversely, legitimate sex intercourse, especially as prescribed on certain ritual occasions, may actually be a health-giving influence. Any headman has a certain degree of supernatural influence in his own village as the successor to his predecessor's *umupashi*, but a chief has considerably more. For all these reasons, ritual precautions guard the sacred person of a chief. Special taboos must be kept to preserve the ritual purity of the ruler's sacred fire, and his sacred

[1] There are rumours that chiefs were throttled by their hereditary councillors when they were obviously sick unto death, for fear they took 'the land' into the grave with them. This information was sent me by Mr. T. Fox-Pitt after I had left the country and was afterwards checked by Mr. Godfrey Wilson. In fact it is probable that in the old days the Bemba chiefs would fall under Frazer's definition of a 'divine king'.

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food, and to protect his person and that of the sacred relics from the contagion of illness, death, or sex defilement.[1]

The ritual by which a successor to the chieftainship is converted from an ordinary individual to a ruler with almost divine powers, has a good deal of political importance. It confers authority on the priests—in this case hereditary officials (*bakabilo*) who carry it out—and gives them, as we shall see, considerable power to check the chief himself. The complete ritual by which the *umupashi* of a dead ruler is liberated to guard the land he governed, and the new heir is installed, is too complex to describe here and now. Briefly speaking, it consists of the desiccation of the body during a period of a year, from one kafir-corn harvest to the next; its burial in a special grove (with human sacrifices in the old days); and the building of a shrine on the site of the deserted capital. To make the new chief, *bakabilo* must preside at the installation of a new great wife, arrange for the sexual purification of the royal pair, and the lighting of their new sacred fire.[2] They must hand over to the heir the heirlooms (*babenye*) of which they have been in charge during the interregnum, and must finally found a new village and build again the sacred huts in which the relics are to be kept. Such a ceremonial may take eighteen months to two years and the participation of all the *bakabilo* and hereditary buriers (*bafingo*) in the case of the paramount; a lesser time and very many fewer priestly dignitaries in the case of the territorial chiefs. The secrecy and awe surrounding these ceremonies is, I believe, one of the ways by which the people's reverence for their chiefs is maintained.

(*b*) *Legal Rules of Descent and Succession.* Against this background of beliefs as to the continuity between one generation and another, the nature of descent and succession is defined exactly by legal rule. Descent in the royal family is reckoned to the time of first occupation of the country, and twenty-five to thirty Citimukulus are remembered. In the case of a territorial chief, the line of ancestors is not so long, and most are described as having been 'born in the country'. Most of the names honoured are those of men but some are those of women, and it seems that

[1] cf. my *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia* (1939), chap. xvii.

[2] Hence the importance of the great wife of the chief (*umukolo ua calo*) in the political life of the tribe and the belief that her behaviour also influences the welfare of the land.

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the first ancestress to inhabit a new chiefdom, or one who was a mother of numerous powerful sons and was thus able to found a new branch, could claim to be so respected.[1] But it is to the men holders of titles that most shrines are built.

The hereditary officials (*bakabilo*) also trace their descent to the first arrival for the most part, and tell stories which account for their right to the ritual offices they hold to-day, e.g. the *bafingo* who now bury the chief, claim to be the descendants of those who buried the first Citimukulus when on the march. This reckoning of descent to a definite epoch in history very clearly remembered is of service in maintaining the myth of absolute continuity of the chiefly lines. In actual fact, the present Citimukulu is a descendant of one Cileshye, who seized the throne from the occupier, Cincinta, only four generations back. This branch of usurpers is able to claim descent from the first Citimukulu all the same. The first ancestors are remembered very accurately and their sacred relics kept. The ensuing vagueness in the chain seems to be of no account.

In most types of succession whether to the name and spirit of a dead man or to his office, there are usually two or three potential heirs, and although there are certain rules of priority, it is practically never the case that there is one child known as heir to the chieftainship from birth and brought up as such, as occurs in those South African tribes in which the eldest son of the great wife must always succeed. A Bemba chief, or commoner, is succeeded by his brothers in order of age, next by his sister's children, and, failing them, by his maternal grandsons. Difficulties arise when there is a choice between an older classificatory 'brother', not a sibling, but possibly a mother's sister's son, or an even more distant 'brother' still, and a young man, a maternal nephew who is the child of the deceased's own sister, with whom, as we have seen, his ties are very close. Here the principles of primogeniture conflict with that of propinquity of kinship, in the case of a branch of a family that has been in existence for three or four generations, and it is probable that in these cases the nearest heir is appointed unless he is manifestly unsuitable, when the more distant 'brother'

[1] e.g. Bwalya Cabala, the first ancestress said to have been fetched from Lubaland by her brothers when the latter had occupied what is now Bembaland; or the Nakasafye, grandmother of the present Nkula, who is described as having started a new line, and was evidently a woman of great character as well as the mother of many sons.

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or 'maternal nephew' is selected. I never heard of a regent being appointed for a young man as is commonly done in those Bantu tribes where the heir to the throne is known from his time of birth.

The situation is more complicated in the case of succession to chieftainships, since through the custom of inheriting one big territorial chieftainship after another within the paramount's immediate family, a tradition has grown up that, e.g., the holder of the Mwambaship should always succeed to the Citimukuluship, whatever the priority of kinship. This claim was put forward in the last succession dispute (1925) and is commonly supported by Government officials who naturally prefer a fixed system of succession to the discussion of rival candidates' rights that seems to have been the older procedure. There is also a tendency becoming more and more evident for certain of these bigger chieftainships to be confined to sub-branches of the main royal line, as distinct from sub-chieftainships which are nearly always given to descendants of local branches of the crocodile clan (e.g. the Mwabaship). This constant growth and separation of different sub-lines or houses of the royal clan seems to have been continuous in the past. The chart of the present central branch of the *Bena ŋandu* should make the situation clear. It will be seen that the first and second Citimukulus in this line were siblings, and were succeeded by another pair of own brothers—Citimukulu III and IV, the sons of the first ruler's eldest sister, Candamukulu. The paramountcy then passed to the line of a younger sister, Bwalya Cabala, tradition stating that the eldest maternal nephew of Citimukulu III and IV, then holding office as Mwamba, refused to succeed to the office for various reasons. The title then passed to another pair of brothers in succession, Citimukulu VI and VII, the sons of a younger daughter of Candamukulu—Nakasafye. Hence the famous dispute of 1925 just referred to, between Kanyanta, now Citimukulu, and his mother's mother's sister's grandchild, Bwalya Cangala, then holding the Nkulaship, and reckoned as Kanyanta's classificatory brother. Bwalya claimed that he was own maternal nephew of the dead chief, Ponde, and Kanyanta that he came of an older line and that it had now become established that the Mwambas always succeeded the Citimukulus. The Government supported the latter claimant, but there seems to have been very little to choose between the

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[p. 102]

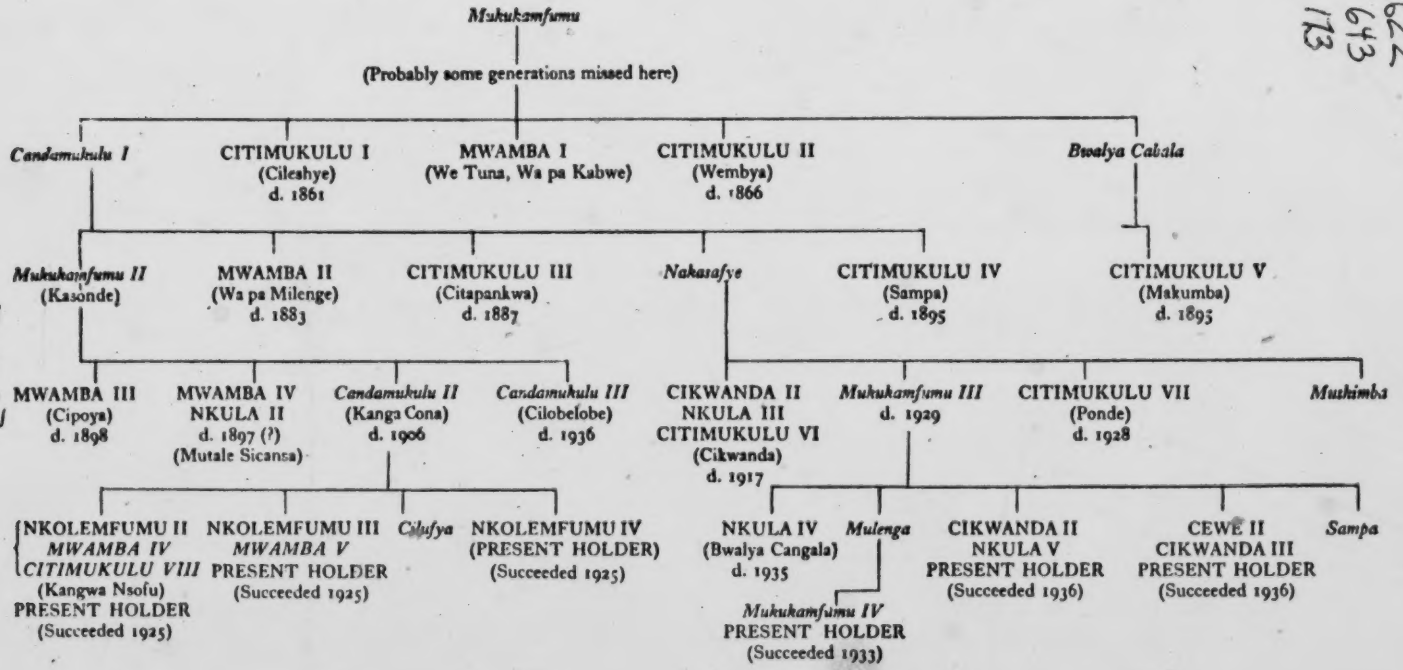

Chart showing succession in central branch of the royal family (taken from a table made by E. B. H. Goodall and kept at the Government Office, Kasama)

Men shown thus: CITIMUKULU Women shown thus: *Candamukulu*

NOTE—(1) Two or more titles means the successive holding of two or more chieftaincies. (2) Citumukulu I designates the first Paramount in *this particular lineage group*.

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legal rights of the two rivals, and the rather complex machinery of tribal deliberation on such matters (cf. p. 109) was not called into motion.

The chart also shows clearly the way in which certain chieftainships have also tended to become fixed in different family lines of this main branch of the *Bena yandu* even during the last four generations, i.e. the Mwambaship, the Nkolemfumuship, the Mpepoship in the line of the chieftainess Mukukamfumu, and the Nkulaship, the Cikwandaship, and the Ceweship in the line of Nakasafye. The separation between these two branches will probably become wider and wider with time. In the case of the outlying sub-chieftainships, this separation off of local family lines of the royal clan has proceeded even further. To conclude, there are definite rules of succession according to Bemba kinship but the type of matrilineal succession usually provides two or three possible heirs, and in the case of the bigger chieftainships there are a number of different factors, such as the paramount's control over the more important *ifyalo*, the traditional order of succession to different offices, local feeling in the case of sub-chieftainships, and last, but not by any means a negligible point, the personal qualities of the candidates themselves.

IV. Functions and Prerogatives of Leadership

The functions of the territorial heads, i.e. chiefs and headmen, seem to be derived from two sources—the position of the leader as head of a kinship group and his role as the representative of a line of dead ancestors in a particular district. In the case of a headman, these two aspects are indistinguishable, while the latter predominates where a chief is concerned.

(*a*) *The Headman.* Bemba headmen are described as looking after, keeping, or actually 'herding the people' (*ukuteka bantu*). As senior kinsman of most of the villagers, a headman is responsible for the discipline of the children and young people; he hears cases informally and directs some economic activities. There are few activities carried out by the whole community in common except fishing and hunting, but besides organizing these latter pursuits a good headman initiates each new agricultural process and encourages and criticizes the younger men and women. Land is not often a matter of dispute in this area. The headman does not allot individual plots, but listens to cases should any arise. He is said to

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624 'feed his people' and actually does so if they are in need, besides dispensing hospitality to strangers.

[778] The head of the village acts as its ritual head. In the old days, he put up one village shrine to his own ancestors and one or more others to the dead chiefs of the land. This is still done in out-of-

[782] the-way parts of the country and in most places, I think, prayers are offered to these tutelary deities, whether shrines are built to them or no. The headman, like the chief, also influences the life of

[833] the community through his own person. He must 'warm the bush' (*ukukafye mpanga*) by an act of ritual intercourse with his

[788] wife before the huts of a new village are occupied. He blesses seeds for sowing, axes for tree-cutting, and first-fruits. His fire stands for the life of the community as a whole and must be ritually lighted when occasion demands. He presides over the

[787 special divination rites connected with village activities, such as
788] the founding of a new community or the death of a member, and blesses new babies or individuals who are sick.

In the political hierarchy, the headman has his definite place. No Bemba may cultivate land except as a member of a village group, and the headman is responsible for organizing the supply of tribute and labour which must be paid to a chief by the community as a whole. He accompanies his villagers to court when they have cases to present and often speaks for them. He transmits the orders of a chief to his people and nowadays those of the Government.

[602] His prerogatives are few in number. As head of a kinship-group, he can command personal service from his younger relatives and should be able to exact one day's work from his people on the first day of tree-cutting and sowing. He is always given tribute of beer or meat. But probably, apart from these few economic privileges, the Bemba headman values most his position of authority, his small following, and the favour of his chief.

The sanctions for his authority nowadays are mainly his popularity, together with the strength of kinship feeling, and the belief of the Bemba that it is dangerous to allow an older relative to die

[789] injured. His supernatural powers were a source of strength in the old days, but to a very small extent now, and it must be admitted that the forces which keep a village together are not very strong. It is a constant fear to a headman that his people will melt away.

622 (*b*) *The Chief*. The functions of the different types of chief

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differ only in degree. All are said to look after their people, to 'work the land', and, with reference to their supernatural powers, to 'spit blessings over the land' (*ukufunga mate*). Their political duties consist in the administration of their capitals and also of their territories as a whole. A large *umusumba* means plenty of coming and going, enough workers for joint enterprises, a large panel of advisers for court cases, many messengers to keep in touch with the surrounding villages—in short, the possibility of keeping the tribal machine running. To maintain and even augment such a community by his popularity and his reputation for generosity is one of the chief's important political tasks. He has also to keep contact with the people widely dispersed over his *icalo* and to appoint new headmen, amalgamate old villages, and decide as to the selection of heirs to old titles. On his success in these last duties the integration of his people as a political unit largely depends.

As a judicial authority, the chief presides over his court with advisers selected from his village, and in the old days he alone could hear charges of witchcraft and, in the case of the greater territorial chiefs, put the accused to the poison ordeal (*mwafi*). In the economic sphere, he initiates agricultural activities by performing the customary ceremony before each begins; he makes big gardens with the aid of tribute labour from which he is able to fill large granaries and thus find the wherewithal to feed his following; he controls directly certain fishing and hunting enterprises: and he criticizes and directs the gardening work of his own villagers.[1]

The ritual duties of a chief consist in the observation of the taboos for the protection of his own person and the safety of the sacred relics at his disposal, and the carrying out of a number of rites for the sake of his whole *icalo*—in the case of the paramount, for the whole tribe. These last consist of economic rites, tree-cutting, sowing, and first-fruit ceremonies, those performed in case of national calamity, and for success in war in the old days. He was formerly bound to protect the people from witches and used to employ a special doctor at his court to destroy, by burning, the bodies of those found guilty of this offence.

In the old days the chief organized military expeditions,

[1] cf. my *Land, Labour, and Diet in Northern Rhodesia* (1939), chap. xiii, for a full account of the chief's economic powers.

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622 701 although he did not necessarily take part in the fighting. As one chief put it, 'If we were killed, the whole *icalo* would fall to pieces'. The ruler had certain military captains in his following, could call up men to fight, direct their operations from afar, and arrange for the performance of war magic for success before battle and for purification from the stain of blood after it.

622 651 The prerogatives of a chief consist in rights over the labour of his people, who are required to do a few days' tribute labour each year and to answer sudden calls for help if made; and also claims to tribute in kind, usually paid in the form of an annual present of beer and/or grain, and portions of animals killed in the hunt.[1] It is through this tribute that he is able to pay his advisers, servants, labourers—and soldiers in the old days. Formerly, he maintained rights to certain monopolies, such as ivory tusks, salt from the big inland deposits at Mpika, and guns and cloth traded [567] from Arabs. Slaves or booty captured by the army were brought to him, and he had a number of his own people enslaved for various offences. Besides these economic prerogatives, he commanded great, one might almost say abject deference, and had the satisfaction of seeing his following grow, his authority increased, and his power over life and death over his subjects recognized.

622 The sanctions for a chief's authority are numerous, and they were still greater in the old days. The most important of these has already been described as the people's belief in their rulers descent from a long line of ancestors and the supernatural powers thought to be so conferred. Besides this, a reputation for generosity and a system by which advancement could only be attained through [687] royal favour naturally bound people to him. Much of his power also rested in the old days on force. A chief practised savage mutilations on those who offended him, injured his interests, laughed at him or members of his family, or stole his wives. A number of these mutilated men and women still survive in Bemba country to-day. Command over the army and over the supply of guns also lay in the chief's hands and there is no doubt that the greatness of the *Bena ŋandu* rested to a large extent on fear. The people explain that the royal family were named after the crocodile because 'they are like crocodiles that seize hold of the common people and tear them to bits with their teeth'.

[1] All these dues are very much harder to exact nowadays (cf. p. 116).

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the old days are an example. The big tribal councils of most of the African peoples described as being attended by 'every one' and in reality very large meetings, must also act as occasions when the loyalty of the tribe is fostered. Among the Bemba much of the tribal ritual is secret, as has been shown, and the advisory council is composed of what might be called an aristocratic caste. If the *bakabilo* meet in sitting on the open ground in the capital, as I have seen happen, they use archaic language on purpose, so that the common people cannot understand. It is no occasion for high-flown oratory or any of the demagogue's arts. On the other hand, the Bemba chiefs were formerly considered very nearly divine, and the belief in their supernatural powers is still strong enough to integrate the tribe. The sacredness of the royal ceremonial largely depends on its secrecy and the fact that only persons of the right descent can take their part in the ritual. The ordinary people do not attend the ceremonies except in the case of some inhabitants of the capital, but they value their secret nature and speak contemptuously of the Bisa and neighbouring tribes with less complex rites. The number of the *bakabilo*, each scattered through the chief's *icalo* and each with his own ritual function, sometimes secret from his own fellows, also adds to the strength of the whole ceremonial system. Each is insistent that *his* part is absolutely essential to the welfare of the tribe, and his own village is convinced to that effect, too. Another integrating factor is the belief in royal descent and presence in the society of such a large number of men and women who claim chiefly rank. These are dispersed all over the country, generally in charge of villages, and they naturally support the chiefs from whom they derive their power.

As regards the activities of the different *ifyalo*, it has been seen that these are self-contained units and there is no regular provision for regular meetings of *icalo* heads. They are linked by the overlordship of the paramount, who acts as judge of their court of appeal, and the different tiny states are bound together because of the close relationship between their different chiefs. Messengers constantly go from one court to another to inquire after family matters, the children of one chief are sent to be brought up at the capital of another, the chiefs themselves take office first in one *icalo* and then another, and even the Citimukulu takes no important step, ritual or political, without consulting his 'brothers', the big territorial heads.

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But here again ritual is one of the big integrating forces. The Citimukulu can initiate a series of sacrifices (*ulupepo lukalamba*), which start at his relic houses and spread to all the shrines throughout the land. The *bakabilo* are sent from Lubemba to bury any of the bigger territorial chiefs who die in their distant *ifyalo* and to install the new heir. The paramount prays for rain on the rare occasions when it is required, on behalf of the whole tribe. Thus for ritual purposes, in spite of the quarrels and jealousies between different lines of the royal family, the whole Bemba country can be said to act as a whole and to be conscious of its unity. If the paramount chief were to turn Christian before the political institutions of this tribe have been considerably adapted, tribal cohesion would, I think, be very much weakened, whether temporarily or permanently.

VII. Post-European Changes

The advent of British rule in Northern Rhodesia changed at once the position of the Bemba chief and his political machinery, and it continues to do so in an increasing variety of ways. Some of these changes are due to the actual introduction of new authorities into the area—whether Government officials, missionaries, or other Europeans—who have either replaced the old Bemba officials, divided the spheres of authority with them, or introduced entirely new conceptions of the functions of government itself. Others seem to be mainly the result of changed economic conditions, particularly the introduction of money, the institution of wage labour, and the provision of opportunities for money-making in industrial undertakings outside the territory. Such factors, over which the Administration has often little direct control, have inevitably affected the position of the Bemba chief. They have altered the people's conception of authority, destroyed the whole basis of labour on which the powers of the chief depended, and the old correlation between political authority, economic privilege, and military strength.

The total effects of white domination on the Bemba political organization have not yet proceeded to their full length, but it will be well to indicate some of the changes produced by the introduction of a new machinery of government, e.g. the alteration in the balance of the old tribal system, and the resultant weakening of the personal relationship between subject and chief upon which

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since the break-up of the whole settlement may become inevitable in such circumstances.

There are no other organized bodies of Europeans in this area —no big bodies of farmers or settlers, for instance. But it may be said that all Europeans are in a sense in a position of authority. They all have the sanction of wealth and the power of employing a following. All have the high social status that enables them to talk to a chief as an equal, or more usually as an inferior, and all are believed by the natives to be backed, whether right or wrong, by the administrative officers of the district however unjustifiably.

Besides these new authorities introduced into the political arena, the power of the Bemba chief is inevitably reduced by his economic position, which must have grown increasingly bad since the first days of European occupation. The Bemba rulers were never rich compared to a number of African potentates. Theirs is a poor country. They possess no cattle which could be converted to money under modern conditions; the ivory of their country no longer belongs to them, nor their mineral rights. Land has no financial value as yet, and the salaries given to chiefs have always been low compared to the income, say, of the paramount chief of the Barotse.[1] Added to this, the service on which the Bemba chiefs depended is cut down by half or more by the absence of men at the mines, and what remains is often given unwillingly. These chiefs never apparently exacted court fines as a regular thing, after the fashion of the cattle-owning Bantu, and have not yet put a levy on the earnings of men away at the mines, as has been done in some parts of South Africa.

In view of these facts, it may be asked how the power of the *Bena ŋandu* survived at all up till 1929, when a determined effort was made to restore it. Partly because of their closely knit kinship structure, but also, I think, because of the strength of the supernatural beliefs on which their authority was so largely based. These were certainly weakened by the introduction of Christianity and the prevention or discouragement of many tribal rites, but it is impossible to treat them as mere survivals at the present day. Even young men are affected by such beliefs. For much the same reasons, the chiefs' courts continued to function alongside of the

[1] The Barotse chief receives an annual subsidy of £1,700, together with £850 from the British South Africa Company and £1,500 from the Zambesi saw-mills, as compared to the £60 a year of the Bemba paramount.

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District Commissioner's courts in spite of thirty years or so of non-recognition. Natives took there the cases they believed the European magistrates did not understand, i.e. ritual matters, affairs with their roots in past history, and certain civil actions. Thus there were still some functions which the people believed the Bemba chief could perform better than all the new white authorities in the territory, besides the great historic tradition behind his authority.

Effects of the 1929 *Ordinances.* By the Native Authority and Native Courts Ordinances of 1929 a form of Indirect Rule was introduced into Northern Rhodesia, the power of the authorities then instituted being still further extended and more closely defined by a subsequent Ordinance of 1936. Chiefs, and in some cases councils of chiefs, were constituted as native authorities by these measures. They were given jurisdiction over definite territories, and encouraged to issue orders on matters of hygiene, bush-burning, the movement of natives, the constitution of villages, &c. Native courts were also recognized and given jurisdiction over all cases except witchcraft, murder, issues involving Europeans, &c. The chiefs were given salaries, small in actual fact and quite inadequate to the needs of an administrator at the present time,[1] yet in the eyes of natives, who are unaccustomed to see large sums of money at any one time, they were substantial marks of Government favour and often described as such. Clerks and *kapasus* (messengers), at exceedingly low salaries, were also attached to the courts. No financial control was given until recently (1936), when native treasuries were set up.[2]

As far as I could judge,[3] this new policy certainly did much to restore the personal prestige of the chiefs. The loss of an authority which was largely based on ritual was compensated for to some extent by the evident support of the Government. Most Bemba realize clearly that their chiefs are still merely servants of the Administration and note the fact that they cannot imprison or try the most important cases, and that their judgements are liable to be reversed, but they often commented to me on what seemed to

[1] Citimukulu receives £60 per annum, Mwamba £50, and the other chiefs less in proportion. For details showing the inadequacy of these amounts cf. my 'Tribal Government in Transition', *Journ. African Society*, vol. xxxiv, 1935.

[2] The Bemba Treasury had a balance of £143 in 1938 on a sum of £1,303 to be divided between six districts. See *Report* cited on p. 114.

[3] I arrived in the country the year after the introduction of these measures.

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177 622 692 them evident signs of favour bestowed by the new policy on their rulers. As we saw, the judicial machinery of the Bemba never really disappeared with the institution of white courts, but the legal recognition of the chiefs' courts by the 1929 Ordinance certainly increased the latter's status tremendously. Successive Government reports have described the new native courts as functioning well, while few charges of excessive fines or hearing fees have been made against the chiefs. Such complaints as I heard seemed to come mainly from educated natives belonging to other areas, particularly from Nyasaland, who found themselves subject for the first time to Bemba law. In the legislative field, determined efforts were made by the district officials to restore the self-confidence of the native authorities and to encourage them, not only to resume functions of government they had lost, but also to take on new tasks, such as the issue of orders as to hygiene, &c. In fact, as regards the personal position of the Bemba chiefs, it may be said that there was a gradual increase in status due to Government support, added to a respect and fear which had never been entirely lost. Their power is in many ways surprising, in view of their poverty, their lack of means to enforce any decisions taken, and the presence in their territories of other authorities in command of their subjects and in particular of large numbers of Christians bound by codes that are not recognized in the chiefs' courts.[1]

177 622 642 645 Apart from the chief's own position, it is necessary to review the political system as a whole. How far was the old machinery of Government re-established by the introduction of the 1929 Ordinances? And, more important still, is such a machinery adapted to the new needs of the tribe? The answer to the first question is a decided, 'No'. The whole balance of authority has been altered, partly by the changed economic position of the chief and partly by lack of Government recognition. We saw that the executive and judicial officials on whom the chief relied were kept together by hope of rewards and food and in some cases in virtue of their religious functions. Nowadays the chief is less able to feed his councillors, principally owing to the decay of the tribute labour system. He does not consider himself obliged to distribute

[1] Some missionary societies have followed the Government policy and have invited chiefs to take a part in school education committees, &c.; others have viewed any increase in the chief's authority as a retrograde step.

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money in the same way as food, and in any case has not sufficient to enable him to reward his people adequately. So that at a time when he is asked to take on new functions of administration his following is becoming smaller and smaller. I have seen Citimukulu hearing cases alone with his paid clerk and watched the *bakabilo* melting away during the midst of the discussion of important matters owing to want of food. This makes an impossible situation which may be changed for the better by the greater measure of financial control which the Government has recently granted to the native authorities,[1] though the sums now allotted to native treasuries are small, and lack of funds has always prevented the compensation of chiefs for the lack of their tribute labour and other perquisites that has occurred in Nigeria, Barotseland, and elsewhere.

Government recognition of the political organization of the tribe and its purposeful adaptation to modern conditions is also essential at the present time. Apart from the economic breakdown at the chiefs' courts which has just been indicated, much of the trouble has been due to the fact that no serious investigation of the judicial, executive, and advisory machinery of Government was made in the first instance. Chiefs were constituted as authorities with little study of the way in which their orders were to be enforced. They were listed as 'members of court', but, though headmen and council were mentioned as eligible to sit on such courts, the presence of the latter was not apparently compulsory. The *bakabilo's* important advisory functions as a tribal council and a potential regency council were not recognized until anthropological research in the area had been made.[1] The unfortunate result was that the chief felt free to act without this former check on his power and openly expressed to me his delight in the fact. The councillors, on the other hand, felt discouraged, and declared: 'The Government likes the chiefs. It does not listen to us, the *Babemba*.' Hence a political system that could never have been described as democratic now provides less check than ever on the chief's authority.

The difficulty from an administrative point of view is evident. Here is a system of political authority based largely on hereditary ritual privilege. To abandon the *bakabilo* council is to do without a body of men with strong traditions of government and a sense of

[1] Twenty-five of the *bakabilo* are now given £1 a year (see *Report* cited, p. 144).

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754 The presence or absence of legal machinery for settling grievances
182 obviously also affects the incidence of magic throughout the society.
121 The Melanesian often has no way of venting his grievance against his fellows except by the practice of the magic of hate. The Mubemba, in common with most other Bantu peoples, can obtain redress in a legal court. He brings a case where the former would besiege the sorcerer for more and more spells.

Again there are patterns of culture in which two social groups are legally bound together in a network of obligations mutually burdensome, and providing perpetual cause for emotional tension. Two individuals may be placed by society in a position of constant rivalry from the start. In such an atmosphere suspicion and charges of witchcraft flourish. I will instance only from the same two Melanesian societies, the relation in Trobriand matrilineal society between a man's heir, his maternal nephew, and his son; or in Dobu the hostility between the groups united in marriage (*susu*) between which the fear of witchcraft is an absolutely dominating dread. Among the Babemba differences in the marriage and kinship system do not provide groupings with interests so sharply contrasted, although the co-wives in a society where the women have never really accepted polygamy as an institution, or the rival heirs to great chieftainships, are always suspected of bewitching each other. But I believe conflicting elements in the society have lately increased.

This is, in fact, the crux of the whole matter. Missionaries all over Africa are teaching a religion which casts out fear, but economic and social changes have so shattered tribal institutions and moral codes that the result of white contact is in many cases an actual increase in the dread of witchcraft, and therefore in the whole incidence of magic throughout the group.

754 In Bemba society the position of the chief has materially altered.
182 One of his functions was formerly the administration of the poison
121 ordeal (*mwafi*) to those accused of sorcery, and this gave an ultimate sense of security to the community at large. Now he no longer per-
622 forms this duty, and his subjects know, moreover, that they cannot charge a witch in a legal court, black or white. 'No one will help us now', said an informant about the *Bamucapi* movement, 'unless we help ourselves.' It must be remembered, too, that divination, itself an

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essential part of the native system of fixing guilt, can no longer be publicly practised. It exists, but is discredited, and in this transition stage its loss has certainly robbed the native of some of his old moral certainties.

Further, with alterations in the sanctions for the power of the chief—his wealth, military supremacy, and the belief in his supernatural powers—that attitude to authority, on which, as we saw, tribal morality so largely depended, has been rudely shaken, and with it the whole system of beliefs in supernatural punishment for wrong-doing. Some natives are abandoning tribal rules because they find them burdensome; and some are living in conditions where it is impossible to carry them out—perhaps working at a mine too far to be able to care for their kinsmen or to carry out certain religious rites. Other natives again, many of them Christians, are caught between clashing moralities. In either case the majority are suffering, I believe, from a perpetual sense of guilt, expressing itself in a constant anxiety for some kind of supernatural defence. Nowhere did I feel this more strongly than in the most civilized part of Northern Rhodesia, the copper belt. Here a Bemba woman no longer feels it necessary to keep the wearisome taboos for the protection of her household fire, but just for that reason she feels herself bound to pay as much as she can for protective charms to save the life of her child—'just in case'. The influence of wage-earning is here again all-powerful. Money seems to the urban native his only asset in this insecure world. By it he can in effect exchange a belief in a system of ancestral spirits who demand respect, the performance of exacting ceremonial, and the keeping of tribal morality for safety bought on a hard cash basis open to all who have money, whatever their position in the society. What wonder, then, that he rushes to the seller of charms? And wherever protective magic is freely bought and sold there is an atmosphere of mutual suspicion between individuals. The fear of witchcraft increases, and witch-finders flourish.

Again, social grouping has been altered by white contact, with, as a transition stage, new causes of hostility between the individual components. In villages near European settlements, natives from other areas have intruded on original kinship units because they want to live near their work. 'We don't feel safe in this village. There are so many strangers here', an old woman said to me in a village near